



ELIZABETH DE VALOIS,

QUEEN OF SPAIN,

AND

THE COURT OF PHILIP II.

FROM NUMEROUS UNPUBLISHED SOURCES, IN THE ARCHIVES OF FRANCE,
ITALY, AND SPAIN.

BY

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AUTHOR OF

THE LIFE OF MARGUERITE D'ANGOULEME, AND THE LIFE OF JEANNE
D'ALBRET, QUEENS OF NAVARRE.

"Jam feliciter omnia."

LEGENDE D'ELIZABETH DE VALOIS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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ELIZABETH DE VALOIS,

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CHAPTER I.

Pregnancy of the queen—She grants audience to the ambassador Chantonnay—Her dangerous illness—Details—Arrival of the abbé de Brantôme at Madrid—Embassy of M. de Méru—Elizabeth grants him public audience—Proposed interview at Bayonne between the sovereigns of France and Spain—The true objects of the interview—Correspondence relative to the Congress—Preparations of the court—Correspondence of Alava with Philip—His interviews with Catherine de Medici—Retinue of the Queen of Spain—Her departure from Madrid—Her journey to Valladolid—Entry into Medina and Valladolid—Her journey to the frontier—She is received at Hernani by the duke d'Anjou—Arrival of the queen of Spain at Irun.

THE king and queen of Spain arrived at Madrid about the beginning of May, 1564. Don Carlos came from Alcalá to visit their majesties, and made many demonstrations of pleasure at again meeting the queen, to whom he affected to pay great reverence, as was his habit. The queen still continuing in indifferent health, her physicians met in consultation soon after her return from Aranjuez; and to the amazement of the court, they pronounced that the decision which they had before arrived at was premature, for that

her majesty still remained pregnant. The joy of Elizabeth was great ; and she made such earnest intercession for her physicians, that the king overlooked their previous unpardonable ignorance, and suffered them to retain their position in the household. Elizabeth's French surgeons, and her physician Burgensis, were, however, commissioned to watch over her health. By order of the king all court receptions were suspended. Philip also directed that nothing should be prescribed for the queen without his previous sanction.

One of the few individuals admitted to audience by Elizabeth during the months of June and July, 1564, was Chantonnay, the ambassador, whose treachery and partial reports had gravely endangered the friendly relations between the crowns of France and Spain. He had recently been recalled from the court of St. Germain, and nominated as ambassador to Vienna on the cessation of the troubles in France. This wily and intriguing diplomatist was an ambassador eminently approved by Philip, who appreciated the shrewd sagacity which enabled Chantonnay to penetrate and perplex the adverse designs of the governments to which he was accredited, before they obtained such proportion as to call for the intervention of the king. As the brother of cardinal Granvelle, Chantonnay received a warm welcome from the duke of Alba. These eminent statesmen, Alba and Granvelle, remained firm friends ; and it is said that they corresponded together in a

special cypher on affairs of state, the key to which was a secret even to their royal master. Chantonnay had some misgivings whether Elizabeth would willingly receive his homage, after the *rôle* he had so mischievously enacted at her mother's court.¹ She, however, greeted him as a minister of Spain, who deserved well at her hands, and whose conduct had merited the approval of the king. With a want of tact, surprising in so clever a diplomatist, when Chantonnay had kissed the queen's hand, he commenced to offer excuse for his alleged disloyal deportment at the court of France, "assuring her majesty that his conduct had been maliciously exaggerated." Elizabeth, interrupting his discourse, said with much dignity, "that if for the future M. l'Ambassadeur desired to render good and welcome service to the king her husband, and to herself, he would do well to refrain from exciting altercations between the cabinets of Spain and France."

The health of the queen continued to progress satisfactorily until about the second day of August. Elizabeth had then entered the fifth month of her pregnancy, and a *fête* was to be holden at court in celebration of this event. On the evening previously, Elizabeth complained of great sickness and headache, so much so that Philip postponed the rejoicings until a future day. She continued slightly indisposed during the following two days; but on Monday the

¹ See "Life of Jeanne d'Albret" for a detail of Chantonnay's political intrigues at the court of France.

fourth of August, her illness had so increased that the physicians deemed it necessary to bleed her majesty in the arm, and subsequently on the temple, which was accordingly done in the presence of the king.¹ The queen, however, gradually grew worse; the most alarming symptoms supervened; and finally it was announced that her majesty having been seized with malignant fever, had miscarried, and that her recovery was considered hopeless. The sufferings of the young queen are reported to have been intense; blisters were applied to her head and feet, with many other remedies then in vogue, of a still more rough and painful nature. Philip in extreme anguish of mind never left the queen, tending her himself with the utmost affection, until a slight attack of the same fever from which his consort suffered, compelled him for a season to relax his care.² Doña Juana, and the princess of Eboli, never quitted the queen's chamber; and it is recorded that they showed extreme grief at the sight of her sufferings. The duke of Alba, as mayor-domo-mayor, also remained in attendance in the ante-chamber of the royal apartment throughout the malady of the queen. Elizabeth commended herself to San Diego de Alcalá, and vowed a pilgrimage to the shrine of that saint if she recovered.³ She also vowed rich

¹ St. Sulpice à la royne mère—Bibl. Imp., MSS., de Mortemart, 39.—Ined.

² Ibid, à la royne mère—MS. Bibl. Imp., F. 9746, t. III. fol. 1, 19, d'Aoust, 1564.—Ined.

³ Florez—Vidas de las reynas Catholicas. Ferreras—Hist. de España, t. XI. Cabrera, Felipe II.

offerings to the shrines of Our Lady of Toledo, Guadaloupé, and Atocha.

Overwhelmed with grief at the prospect of losing his consort, Philip shut himself up in his apartment and refused audience to all; he commanded prayers to be offered for her recovery throughout the realm, and public processions to implore the intercession of the saints whose shrines were honoured in Spain. St. Sulpice, through the duke of Alba, addressed a humble petition to the king, that he might be permitted to see Elizabeth, to report her condition to her royal mother. This prayer Philip was pleased to comply with. Don Carlos also displayed most passionate grief; he wept, fasted, and joined in all the religious processions, which perambulated the streets of the capital. The prince, moreover, prayed most earnestly to be admitted to the chamber of the dying queen, to take a last farewell; but Philip peremptorily prohibited this interview.¹ For long, also, the king refused to permit that Elizabeth should be informed of her peril; and when the duke of Alba suggested that her majesty ought to make her will while she was able, Philip sternly forbade it. Gradually, however, Elizabeth continued to grow worse; and it was only after the king was told that the torpor preceding dissolution was stealing over her, that he suffered the queen's chaplains to speak to her of death, and to receive her confession. Elizabeth made her will, before receiving

¹ *Négociations de St. Sulpice*—MS. Bibl. Imp., F. 9746, t. III. fol. 1. —Ined. Aoust, 1564.

the last sacraments. In this document, she bequeathed all that she possessed to her mother queen Catherine. This was done by the express command of Philip; as Elizabeth was too exhausted to do more than append a feeble signature to the document in the presence of the king, the duque de Osuña Notorio-mayor of Castile, and the duque de Alba. When Philip was afterwards asked why he had thus relinquished his consort's dowry, he replied, "that in so ordering he had only followed the solemn duty prescribed by the great friendship and esteem which he bore towards the queen-mother of France; to whom, in all matters, and upon every occasion as far as lay in his power, he wished to render the love, service, and honour, which a good son owes to his mother."¹

After the sacraments were administered, and the prelates had left her chamber, the queen lay without sign of life. Her face and throat swelled, so that their late beautiful proportions could be no longer discerned. The king then taking the hand of his consort pressed it tenderly to his lips, and retired to his oratory, with marks of such grief and emotion on his countenance, that no one presumed to address or to follow his majesty. One of the queen's French physicians, Monguyon, nevertheless, on hearing that his colleagues had resigned all hope of saving their patient's life, approached her bed: after gazing attentively for some moments on the inanimate form

¹ *Négociations de St. Sulpice, au roy Charles IX.*—MS. Bibl. Imp., Mortemart, 2542, fol. xxxix.—Ined.

of his royal mistress, he declared that he knew of a draught which he believed would yet resuscitate her majesty. He then demanded to speak with the king. Philip eagerly listened to Monguyon's statement, and returned with him to the queen's apartment, where he himself saw the draught immediately administered. He commanded, moreover, that every direction given by Monguyon, should be implicitly obeyed. This miraculous restorative was given to the queen at six o'clock in the morning of the 7th of August. In about the space of two hours afterwards, to the astonishment of all, the colour again faintly tinged Elizabeth's lips and cheeks; "so suddenly and miraculously, that, madame, we have universally deemed it a true interposition of Almighty power, all human aid having before proved unavailing," writes St. Sulpice, to Catherine de Medici. The queen afterwards never relapsed into a lethargic state;² and probably, but for the fortunate intervention of Monguyon, Elizabeth would have been left to die from extreme exhaustion; her Spanish physicians having before proved themselves devoid of even an average knowledge of the medical science of those days.

The news of the extremity of the queen, when published in Madrid, created indescribable grief. The streets became thronged with persons on their

¹ *Négociations*—Bibl. Imp., 9766, t. III. fo. 1.—Ined.

² The elixir which is recorded as having saved the life of Elizabeth, was a strong infusion of agarick, mingled with several other stimulants, which seemed to revive her from the syncope into which she had fallen.

way to offer prayers before the altars and shrines for her recovery. The bells of Madrid tolled gloomily. Processions of priests passed from church to church. "The streets," says Brantôme,¹ "were crowded with people on their way to the various churches and hospitals to pray for her majesty's recovery. Some went by way of penance with bare feet and bare heads; others performed penance in the streets; all offered prayers, orisons, intercessions, and oblations, with fastings, macerations, and saintly discipline; so that it was afterwards believed that, God giving heed to all these tears, prayers, supplications, and sighs, they were of more avail for the cure of this princess than the skill of her physicians."

The queen's youth greatly contributed to her recovery; and after several days of partial insensibility life began slowly to revive. The condesa de Urueña and madame de Vineux, were indefatigable in their attentions; and for many weeks their royal mistress was indebted to them for every service she received, as etiquette permitted no person of inferior rank to approach the couch of a queen of Spain. As soon as the first permanent sign of amendment became visible in Elizabeth's condition, prayers and processions were again resorted to, throughout France and Spain. Couriers departed every day to bear news of the queen's progress to Catherine de Medici. The following letter is the first addressed to Philip by

¹ Brantôme—*Dames Illustres*. Florez—*Vidas de las reynas Catholicas*.

the queen-mother, on the subject of her daughter's illness.

CATHERINE DE MEDICI, TO PHILIP II., KING OF SPAIN.

“Monsieur mon fils,

“Last night I received your majesty's letter in which you inform me of the illness of the queen my daughter, and state therein that you hope and believe the worst is over: for which tidings I cannot thank you sufficiently; nor yet for the care which you are pleased to bestow upon her health. Despite, however, the hope which your majesty has given me of her amendment, I yet cannot help feeling greatly troubled; and for this cause I send back the courier to learn her present condition; for after all the losses and misfortunes which have happened to me within the last few years, I am always fearful of fresh misfortune; and especially relating to her, who is now the dearest object belonging to me. Therefore, monsieur mon fils, I entreat you very earnestly to command that all things ordered by the physicians for the queen your wife, be punctually observed; so that, by the blessing of God, she may soon be restored to health, and that I may not be miserable enough to survive another so great calamity, as her loss. I pray God that He may restore her to you; and that through her, the present union and concord between this realm and your own may be preserved; the which, menseigneur, it will ever be the study of her to entertain, who is

• “Your very good and affectionate mother,

“CATHERINE.”¹

Such was Philip's alleged anxiety to spare Catherine unnecessary solicitude, that during the tedious and

¹ MS. Simancas, K. 1390, C. B. 12.—Ined.

uncertain convalescence of his consort, he interdicted any courier leaving the capital for Paris, without showing a pass signed by the duke of Alba, lest St. Sulpice should address hasty and imperfect reports of Elizabeth's condition to his sovereigns. "The Catholic king said to me to-day, madame," wrote St. Sulpice, ironically, "that I was not to harass you without cause and necessity in sending imperfect reports of the health of the queen, your daughter; he had, therefore, expressly forbidden any courier to leave the capital without a pass, signed by the duque de Alba."¹ Philip, it would seem, could not have a great idea of the discretion of the French ambassador.

By command of Catherine, St. Sulpice waited on the king of Spain, to congratulate him on the convalescence of his consort, and to report the opinion of the queen-mother, that had her daughter received proper attendance during her pregnancy, so afflicting an accident would not have happened. Her majesty, therefore, begged his Catholic majesty, to sanction the introduction into Elizabeth's household, of two competent persons to attend her upon such occasions, and who, during the life of king Henry of France, belonged to her Christian majesty's household. Philip replied in most feeling language, respecting the illness of his young queen: he added, "that if it pleased God again to give him and his beloved consort prospect of offspring, it would be very agreeable

¹ *Négociations de St. Sulpice, Dépêche du 12 Septembre, 1564.—Ined.*

to him to adopt the advice of her Christian majesty.”¹ The ambassador then paid a visit to the apartment of Elizabeth, whom he found in improved health and spirits, but still too weak to rise from her bed. She desired the ambassador to write to her mother, that she was going on well, as could be; and that the king her husband had asked her permission to go for change of air for four days to El Escorial, which leave, with great regret she had granted him; “but, madame,” writes St. Sulpice,¹ “I have certain knowledge that the said king waited over the hours when the access of fever usually came on her majesty, ~~intending~~ not to quit Madrid, whilst her majesty was so subject.” As fresh air was prescribed for the queen, Elizabeth, during the absence of the king, went twice, reposing in a litter, to some distance from Madrid, accompanied by Doña Juana, and the condesa de Urueña. On the 23rd, the French ambassador wrote to queen Catherine, “I assure you, madame, that the queen, your daughter, is now making progress towards convalescence. Since the departure of Noblesse, she has not suffered from acute pains. Her feverish symptoms have likewise much abated, so that we hope to see her majesty perfectly convalescent. I have just spoken to her majesty; and she commanded me to say to you, that she has never since her illness, felt so well as to-day, and she prays you very earnestly not to grieve longer; and she has even promised to confirm

¹ Négociations de St. Sulpice, Dépêche du 18 Septembre, 1564. Bibl. Imp., F. 9746.—Ined.

the happy news to your majesty under her own hand next week."

From El Escorial, the king proceeded to spend one day at Segovia, to recruit his spirits by the diversion of a hunt. "The Catholic king, your brother, sire," writes St. Sulpice, to king Charles, "has gone to enjoy the fresh country air, and the diversion of the chase: and *certes*, no one could require it more than his majesty, who has suffered extremely from grief, and anxiety during the malady of the queen, your sister. He is to stay in all, only a week, so as not to be absent long from the said lady and queen, who finds the pleasure of seeing the king, and his society every morning and evening, the best medicine that can be presented."¹ Philip's health, according to the relation of the ambassador seems to have been much impaired by his anxiety. The prince of Eboli, declared also, "that during the king's suspense, it was quite lamentable to witness the grief displayed by his majesty; and that no one could look in his face, or hear him speak, without being moved with compassion."²

Elizabeth rose first from her couch on Michaelmas Day, 1564. She sent a message to her brother Charles, stating "that she deemed herself happy to make her first essay on the festival of the patron of his Order, St. Michael." Philip was back again to support the faltering steps of his young consort; as she slowly paced her chamber, and its adjacent

¹ St. Sulpice au Roy—du 7 Octobre, 1564.—Ined.

² Ibid.

gallery. For two hours, morning and evening, Philip remained with the queen, amusing her by pleasant discourse, and by every device that might cheer the weariness of a sick chamber.

The convalescence of the queen was celebrated by a public procession, through the streets of Madrid, on a stupendous scale. The king walked in the procession, accompanied by Don Carlos; his majesty followed immediately after the Host, which was borne aloft by Mendoza cardinal de Burgos. The archduke Rodolph, and his brothers followed. Next in order, according to precedence, marched the grandees of Spain, the ministers, ambassadors, privy counsellors, and all the members of the High Courts of the realm. The prelates arrayed in pontifical vestments, preceded the Host. During the progress, Philip called the French ambassador to his side, and as a mark of special honour, conversed with him publicly. After alluding to his anguish and fear during Elizabeth's illness, the king said, "God has been pleased to confer this great blessing of her preservation upon me, for which I must always thank Him. Can you, M. l'ambassadeur, inform me, whether the queen her mother, suffered so acutely before her first *accouchement*?" The ambassador replied that he did not know, as he had not been at court during the reign of Francis I. at the birth of the late king Francis II. He, however, added that he knew her Christian majesty had happily brought into the world all her subsequent children. Philip replied, "Ah! then the queen, my wife, shall for the future follow in all

respects the example of her mother, and obey all the injunctions she may receive !”¹ In this same despatch, the ambassador requests in Elizabeth’s name, that the queen will not forget to send by the first courier, several pieces of fine Lyons velvet, to make robes for her Catholic majesty, as none of such choice texture could be obtained in Spain. The condesa de Urueña, sends a message to the queen-mother, to pray her majesty to despatch some fine scented *sachets*, such as her daughter used when in France as a remedy against sick-headache—or, at any rate, that her Christian majesty would be pleased to forward the recipe for the fragrant compound.

Philip wished to escort the queen at this season to Guadaloupé, to perform the vow which she made during her illness ; and to unite in thanksgiving before the altar of Our Lady, that she had been restored to him. The Prince, however, being suddenly seized with an attack of bilious fever, the result of his excitement respecting the queen’s health, the royal pair resolved to defer their pilgrimage until the spring of 1565, and perform it during their annual sojourn at Aranjuez. Discoursing one day with St. Sulpice, Elizabeth, after informing the ambassador of this project, added, “ Ah ! M. l’ambassadeur, sorry do I feel, that during my sickness I vowed myself to make pilgrimage to Notre Dame de Guadaloupé, which is on the road into Portugal, instead of vowing myself to visit the Holy Crucifix, (of Burgos,) which is between this and

¹ Dépêche de St. Sulpice à la royne mère—Bibl. Imp., F. 9740, fo. 1.

Bayonne, on the way to France!" St. Sulpice, exhorted her majesty to seek a release from her first vow on condition that she made this last pilgrimage, adding that he would joyfully attend her majesty. Elizabeth smiled; and repeated that the king her lord, was to bear her company to Guadaloupé. "Often," relates the ambassador, "their majesties finding the presence of their courtiers to be irksome, withdraw privately together, when the king takes your daughter, madame, to inspect his gallery of paintings, and to show her fine marbles, and statues, to the very great delight and recreation of the said Catholic queen." One day, Elizabeth, while conversing with the king, asked him if she had died, whether, he would have married again; and if so, whether the queen of Scots would have been his choice, as she had heard somebody assert? Philip smiled, but suddenly replied with much earnestness; "No, no, Señora, my disposition and habits are very dissimilar to those of the queen of Scots!"²

Elizabeth at this season was further cheered, by the arrival at the court of Madrid, of her gallant countryman, the abbé de Brantôme, whose conversational powers, and amusing gossip afforded relaxation to many weary hours. She requested the duke of Alba to present him to the king, her husband, who gave him a gracious reception; while the queen herself introduced him to Don Carlos, who came one

¹ St. Sulpice—*Régistres des dépêches*.—Ined.

² Ibid. Décembre 31, 1564. Au Roy (par Guillaume).—Ined.

afternoon from Alcalá to sit with her majesty. Brantôme witnessed the enthusiasm with which the people of Madrid greeted Elizabeth, upon her first appearance in public after her recovery. He arrived at the court, two days before she finally quitted her sick chamber. Elizabeth's first visits were made to the churches and shrines of the capital, to thank God for her recovery, and to present the offerings she had vowed during her malady. She rode thither in a coach, sitting forwards, with her veil thrown back from her face, so that all might see her as she passed. She was attired in a white satin robe, without the relief of a jewel or a colour. Crowds of persons assembled to gaze upon her majesty, and to follow in her progress; "When she turned upon them her very fair face," says Brantôme,¹ "which according to her habit the queen always showed, you might perceive that the people loved her with even greater fervour than they honoured, and bore her reverence." For fifteen successive days, Elizabeth continued her toilsome progresses to the churches and convents; and she offered rich gifts upon the shrines of San Diego de Alcalá, and upon that of the Virgin of Atocha, the patroness of Madrid, the royal city.

Brantôme was very assiduous in his homage to Elizabeth, and she returned it with a graceful condescension, which charmed, and for ever bound the witty abbé as her most humble slave. Soon after his arrival, Brantôme suffered from a severe tooth-

¹ Dames Illustres—Vie d'Elizabeth de Valois.

ache, which prevented him during two days from paying his respects to the queen. Elizabeth inquired of mademoiselle de Ribérac, where the abbé lodged, and if his absence was occasioned by illness? "When her majesty had ascertained my ailment," recounts Brantôme,¹ "she sent me her apothecary, who brought me a herb which had a singular effect on an aching tooth; for placing the said herb in the hollow of my hand the pain passed away immediately."

Another evening, while the sprightly abbé was entertaining the queen with anecdotes of the courts of France and Portugal, the latter of which he had just visited, a chamberlain entered to announce the princess Doña Juana. Brantôme rose, and making obeisance to her majesty, would have retired. The queen, however, said "Do not stir, M. de Bourdeille. You will see a beautiful and courteous princess, with whom you may be glad to make acquaintance. Her highness also, will be pleased to meet you, since you have so recently seen the king her son." The greetings over between the two royal ladies, Elizabeth informed the princess that she was conversing with M. de Bourdeille, abbé de Brantôme, gentleman of the chamber to the king her brother, and who had recently quitted Lisbon. Doña Juana, therefore, intimated her desire to ask some questions relative to her son's court. Brantôme approached and was introduced by her majesty, upon which he knelt and kissed the robe of the princess, and after-

¹ Brantôme—*Dames Illustres*, Vie d'Elizabeth de Valois.

wards her hand. "Madame la Princesse," says the abbé, "was a comely and gracious lady, very magnificently attired in silken garments, and wearing a toque à l'Espagnole of white crape, which descended in a point upon her forehead." Juana then put a number of questions relative to the young king of Portugal, Don Sebastian, her son; she inquired concerning his majesty's occupations, and what Brantôme's opinion was of his kingly qualifications. "I answered all these questions in Spanish," complacently recounts Brantôme, "which language I then spoke as well, or even better than French." The princess then asked, "if her son were handsome, and whom he most resembled in feature?" Brantôme's courtly reply was "that his majesty was one of the handsomest princes in Christendom; and that he resembled, and was the very image of his royal mother." The princess smiled, apparently well pleased at the compliment, and a slight flush rose on her cheek. The conversation was thus maintained until the high chamberlain and the *camaréra-mayor* appeared to escort her majesty to supper, which meal Elizabeth partook of in private with the king. After the princess had taken her leave, Elizabeth turned towards her brother's skilful courtier, and smiling said, before quitting the apartment. "M. de Bourdeille, you have conferred a great pleasure on Madame la Princesse, by saying to her what you did respecting the king her son." "Her majesty then asked me, whether I did not think the princess a

gracious lady, as she had described her to me? and upon my reply in the affirmative," she added, "'I believe that it is the great desire of the princess, to espouse the king my brother, and I also should be glad if such could be the case.'"¹ The friendship subsisting between Elizabeth and her sister-in-law, was cordial and intimate; for the king greatly approved of the dignified bearing of la Princesa, and her regard for decorum. Juana, during her brief regency, had also made many influential friends; and the pure Spanish portion of the court, desired nothing better than to see her the consort of Don Carlos, in preference to an Austrian princess. Ruy Gomez, governor of the prince, was her ardent partisan; as were, also, most of the officers of the household of Don Carlos, whom she had in many ways, during her regency, protected and assisted, when suffering from the ill-usage of their turbulent charge. The princess, however, constantly averred that she would be queen of France, or become a humble nun of the cloister of las Descalzas Reales of Madrid; as probably from antecedent experience she had little ambition to accept the dignity of princess of Asturias.

King Charles and his mother, meantime, again despatched Charles de Montmorency seigneur de Méru, to the Spanish court, on a special mission of congratulation to the king and queen, on her majesty's happy recovery. When Méru arrived, Philip had just quitted Madrid, to sojourn for a fortnight at El

¹ Brantôme—*Dames Illustres*, Vie de Jeanne d'Autriche.

Escorial, to inspect the progress of his works. As the king was absent, etiquette required that M. de Méru should remain in seclusion at the hôtel of St. Sulpice, until after his majesty's return; but Philip divining how anxiously the queen awaited the letters and despatches addressed to her by her mother and brother, wrote to Elizabeth to grant public audience herself to the special ambassador, and to forward any despatches to El Escorial by courier. Elizabeth was much gratified by this mark of consideration from her royal husband; who sent the duque de Alba to assist her at the interview. The ceremonial was arranged with great splendour.— De Méru was conducted by Philip's chamberlains, and body-guard to the palace, where he was introduced into the presence of her majesty, who received him sitting under a canopy of state, arrayed in her royal mantle, and attended by the condesa de Urueña, the duchess of Alba, and the chief grandees of the court. The ambassador kneeling, presented his letters, which Elizabeth received very graciously. De Méru, then expressed the deep thankfulness which their Christian majesties felt towards God, for her restoration to health. The queen briefly replied; and assured M. de Méru, "that he and the members of his embassy, were very welcome at Madrid; but that during the absence of the king her lord, she feared that they would find the sojourn of the court somewhat dull."

¹ St. Sulpice au Roy Charles IX.—MS. Bibl. Imp., Mortem., fol. 39.—Ined.

A week afterwards Philip returned, and also granted an audience to the ambassador De Méru. To the elaborate address and compliments spoken on the occasion, Philip simply replied, "Monseigneur, I kiss the hands of their Christian majesties, for their regard and attention towards the queen ; feeling confident that they must have experienced as much pain and anxiety on receiving tidings of her majesty's illness, as they now feel joy and contentment at her restoration. As for the share I had in promoting her convalescence, I only fulfilled my duty ; in affirmation of which I refer their majesties to their ambassador at this my court."¹

M. de Méru was likewise commanded by king Charles and his mother to speak urgently to the king on the interview between their majesties so long projected. Catherine declared that waving the many political motives which rendered the interview desirable, she longed to embrace the daughter so wonderfully restored from death ; and to strengthen the bond between her Catholic majesty, and her brothers, whose tender years when she quitted France had caused them to grow out of her recollection. Catherine and her son were then making their memorable progress through France which commenced in 1564, and lasted many months. The queen trusted that the presence of the young king would revive the fervour of the French people for their sovereign ; and stifle the elements of

¹ St. Sulpice au roy Charles IX.—MS. Bibl. Imp., Mortem., fol. 39.
—Ined.

dissension and strife. Moreover, such was the animosity of faction, that the court of Charles IX. was converted into an arena of feud, political and religious ; so that the presence chamber itself, echoed to the angry recrimination of parties, whom Catherine's policy had disarmed though not reconciled. The ladies of the court took share in the contest ; and sided, some with Condé and the Huguenots ; others with Lorraine and the Roman Catholics. Neither party could tolerate the members of the opposing factions in the circle of the queen ; and sometimes even the sovereign was left without a court. In the provinces, the belief still existed that the king and queen were Huguenot at heart ; and had been coerced into the profession of the Romish creed. The impression created by Catherine's celebrated letters to Condé in 1561, had never been effaced from the minds of her subjects ; and they caused her orthodoxy still to be held in suspicion by the Spanish and Papal courts. Under these circumstances, Catherine resolved to disperse the courtiers until time had allayed their personal animosities ; and by a progress through the kingdom, to kindle again the waning loyalty of the good and faithful portion of the subjects of the king her son. Such, at least, was the open avowal made by Catherine, when, against the advice of the council, of state, she resolved upon this progress. Deeper and more comprehensive designs, however, in reality occupied the mind of the queen, which she confided only to a few chosen and trusted agents. The

baptism of the eldest son of her daughter Claude, duchess of Lorraine, afforded the queen a pretext for commencing this journey; and from Bar-sur-Seine where the ceremony was performed, she proceeded to Dijon, Maçon, Lyons, and from thence down the Rhône to the south of France. "One of the objects of her majesty's journey," writes a confidential agent of Catherine's, whose revelations have been hitherto hidden in the recesses of the Spanish archives; "was to conduct the king her son, through all his provinces, in order that the world might openly perceive the religion which the said king, herself and the royal princes professed; for which end in all the large cities, and upon the occasion of the most insignificant festival, the queen commanded public processions, at which every one was compelled to appear. The said queen and king with Monsieur and Madame invariably assisted in such processions; they, moreover, attended mass openly and diligently, with such signs of affection and devotion, that all might become convinced that their majesties desired not to change from the faith of their forefathers."¹ As the queen approached the frontiers of Spain, her anxiety for an interview with Philip II. increased; for to the Spanish council Catherine had confided projects, which "she declared that she required only the assurance of the moral, and active support of Spain to execute. The ravages of war which the

¹ Etat des Affaires de France en 1564-5. MS. Archives de Simancas, K. 1391, B. 19, 26.—Ined.

queen beheld—the ruined churches and monasteries overthrown during the late civil conflict—admonished her that peace was but a temporary boon ; and that the religious tenets so valiantly defended, were not likely to be repressed, or even satisfied by the ‘half toleration conceded by the Edict of Orleans. To confer with Philip, therefore, respecting the great question which agitated the cabinets of the sixteenth century ; and to propose her own secret views and projects for the suppression of heresy became Catherine’s anxious desire. The coast of Flanders, like that of France, was menaced by the fleets of Elizabeth of England in support of the Calvinist cause. The forces of the English queen had already garrisoned Hâvre and Rouen ; and she maintained relations with Jeanne d’Albret, Condé, Coligny, and the Flemish malcontents. The cardinal de Lorraine, therefore, perceiving the queen’s disposition, took the opportunity to impart certain details of the league secretly negotiated at Peronne in 1558, between the king of Spain and the House of Lorraine, for the re-establishment of the Roman Faith throughout France, and the Spanish dominions of Flanders ; and ultimately in England, Scotland, and Germany. Philip believed that it was his mission to restore the orthodox faith to its ancient supremacy over Europe ; and to enforce the same blind deference to the spiritual mandates of the Vatican as existed before the councils of Constance and Bâle. Secret overtures had been, therefore, made to the potentates of Europe

to join the league. The dukes of Lorraine, Savoy, and Ferrara responded to the invitation. It had been hitherto in vain, however, that the pope, supported by the influence of Philip, essayed to procure the full recognition of the canons of Trent by the Gallican church. Catherine foresaw in their acceptance the overthrow of her hopes of accommodating the religious differences of her subjects. Neither could she then longer appease the clamour of faction by the delusive promise which she had from time to time proffered—to procure the assemblage of another general council in which the Protestants might obtain an impartial hearing; or in default of this concession from Rome, that she would herself convoke a national synod in France. A conference with the king of Spain, therefore, on all these religious points and on the distracted condition of France in general, Catherine believed to be imperatively necessary; and accordingly she left no argument or solicitation untried to induce Philip with his consort, on the breaking up of the winter of 1564 to approach the frontier, and to meet her at Perpignan or Bayonne.

Upon many accounts, Philip was as anxious as Catherine to achieve this interview; he desired to give content to his consort, who warmly solicited him to meet her brother on the frontier; and he wished to make personal friendship with that astute personage, his mother-in-law. Moreover, since the accession of Maximilian II. to the Imperial throne, Philip was more resolved than ever to bind the French cabinet

to suppress heresy ; as the tolerant principles of the Emperor were known to him. In Flanders the “ new doctrines ” had almost as many adherents as in France. The creation of additional bishoprics having inquisitorial functions attached to the privileges of the see, exasperated the Flemings against the rule of Spain. The people at once repudiated the jurisdiction of these bishops, and despatched a deputation to the court of Madrid to demand their deposition. Cardinal Granvelle, nevertheless, caused his bishopric of Malines to be created an archiepiscopal see ; and taking the title of primate of the Low Countries, he placed himself at the head of the new ecclesiastical commission. The clamour became great ; and public disaffection so universal, that Granvelle was presently compelled to withdraw from the administration of affairs. The baron de Montigny, and the lords of the Flemish deputation were received by Philip with ill-suppressed indignation. Their demands met with ambiguous answers ; for the condition of Europe generally, and the armed hosts of Condé on the frontiers of Flanders compelled the king to dissimulate. Granvelle, from his retirement, continued, in fact, to guide the councils of the regent Marguerite, duchess of Parma. As open persecution on the part of the prelates, against defaulters from the faith, would have been resisted by tumult and rebellion, a secret system of torture was introduced to check the growth of heresy. This device transpiring, popular resentment assumed a most menacing aspect. The prince of Orange,

the counts of Hoorne and Egmont memorialised Philip, in the name of the inhabitants of the Low Countries, demanding the cessation of ecclesiastical persecution; and that Granvelle should be wholly interdicted from legislating, or interfering in the government of the Netherlands. Affairs were in this posture when Catherine de Medici so urgently demanded a conference with the Spanish monarch. Philip felt persuaded that it would be impossible to root out heresy from his Flemish provinces, whilst the armies of the French Calvinists menaced the frontier; and the fleets of Elizabeth of England his coasts. A simultaneous repression of heresy, throughout the dominions of France and Spain, was deemed by the king a remedy alone able to suffice for the exigencies of the period. The annihilation of heresy was, therefore, undoubtedly the basis upon which the conference between the two courts was proposed. The question then occurs, what were the precise points discussed at this celebrated interview? Amongst the Spanish archives, exists the identical note exchanged at Bayonne between the cabinets of France and Spain, containing a summary of the matters which both parties pledged themselves to discuss, and provide a way to execute.¹ This document, therefore, solves the perplexed and much debated question respecting these

¹ Mémoire des choses de France qui doit être présenté au duc d'Albe à l'entrevue de Bayonne. Archives de Simancas, A. T. K. 1393, B. 19. —Ined. On the margin of the note is written: "De clestado de las cosas de Francia, y se dio al Duque de Alva en Bayona."

conferences, as to whether the subsequent massacre of St. Bartholomew formed one of the prominent topics and objects of the congress. The first article of this important document, states, that before other matters, the sovereigns of France and Spain shall faithfully engage to support the glory of God, and the maintenance of the Holy Catholic Faith ; in defence of which they shall employ all means in their power, and in that of the subjects of their realms. The second point, proposes : “ that they shall not tolerate in the countries under their sceptre, the presence of any ministers of the Reformed Faith ; nor the exercise of worship in accordance with the reformed ritual. Command shall be given to the said ministers to quit the provinces and lands appertaining to the said princes within the space of one month after the promulgation of the edict, under pain of death ; nor shall it be lawful for any to support or harbour these said ministers, under pain of incurring a like penalty.” Thirdly, it was proposed—to publish and maintain throughout the countries of the respective sovereigns, the canons and decrees of Trent ; and to enforce such with all the power of the laws. Fourthly—the expediency was to be discussed, of not appointing any to offices in the state, who had not previously made oath of conformity and obedience to the Holy Roman Catholic Church ; if such persons should afterward lapse, they were to be ejected from their posts, without form or process. Fifthly—to purge the realm from all persons professing the new doctrines, or other heresies : but to permit the

authorities of the various towns of the realm to compensate those individuals holding public offices, thus summarily dismissed, in case that his majesty finds himself unable so to do from the exchequer of the state. Sixthly—to degrade all governors of provinces, and great peers of the realm, and all other personages possessed of authority and command, who professed the new doctrines : also, to cashier all officers, captains, sergeant-majors, and marshals of the camp, who refused to profess the Holy Roman Faith. Lastly, to degrade from their rank, and knighthood, all persons who refused to accept, observe and conform to the above statutes and ordinances ; and in their stead to fill the vacant posts with other personages of quality, experience, and members of the one holy orthodox faith.

This wholesale proscription, when ratified by the signature of the sovereigns, was to be embodied in a royal edict, and published simultaneously throughout the realms of France and Spain. “It was the intent of the queen’s majesty, after the interview of Bayonne to return to Paris (after showing to all the realm that her son was arrived at man’s estate) there to promulgate an edict to the effect that all who decline to follow the religion that the king professes, are to decamp from the realm within the space of a month—permission being accorded to such to sell their estates, and goods.”¹ The writer of the

¹ Etat des affaires de France in 1564-5. Archives Espagnoles, A. T., Carton, K. 1393, B. 19, 2, 26.—Ined.

curious paper last quoted, who was a person high in authority, proceeds to discuss other matters concerning the proposed interview. He suggests that the king of Spain should demand the exile of the chancellor de l'Hôpital; and that the conferences between the sovereigns ought to be holden only in the presence of the Constable, the duke de Montpensier, the cardinals de Guise and de Bourbon, the counts de Cipierre and de Villars, and the marshal de Bourdillon; and, moreover, that only four of these said personages shall be present at a time, to preserve greater secrecy. Philip accepted these declarations with *empressement*; and in every subsequent negotiation, he acted in accordance with principles he so cordially approved. Catherine, on the contrary, though she beheld the realm of France on the brink of destruction from, as she believed, the feuds and rebellion of the Calvinist chieftains; and though she had originated and tendered these articles to be discussed at Bayonne, deeming them imperative, yet at this very time she entered into a secret negotiation with the bishop of Rennes her ambassador at the imperial court, upon the subject of making concession to the Huguenot population of France. It was by such acts of needless dissimulation, that Catherine ever beheld the scourge of war desolating her son's realm; and her own royal word disregarded and scorned.

The projected interview, however desirable it might be, Philip foresaw would probably arouse the suspi-

cions of Europe ; and exasperate the Flemish subjects of Spain ; while the jealous umbrage of the papal and imperial courts was to be apprehended. The suspicions likewise of the Calvinist population of France and Flanders, were likely to be roused by this interview. Already the project had been discussed in their assemblies with feelings of alarm and indignation. Philip, therefore, desiring to avoid an insurrectionary demonstration in his Flemish provinces, which he had not then force at hand to repress, resolved, after much consideration, to decline the interview for himself ; but to despatch the duke of Alba in his stead, intrusted with plenary powers of negotiation, under pretext of escorting the young queen to meet her mother ; and as his majesty's representative to invest king Charles with the Order of the Golden Fleece. This expedient Philip trusted would answer all desirable purposes ; and procure the final ratification of the important edict, without exciting the suspicions, which it was more prudent at this juncture to allay.

It does not appear that the ordinary ambassadors of the two courts were trusted with the real aim and secret purport of the conference. Elizabeth herself, however, was carefully initiated into the true policy of the cabinet by her husband ; and eventually it will be seen how apt and faithful an agent she became ; and how steadily she upheld the interests of the realm of Spain, despite the sophistry and the vacillation of the queen her mother.

Philip, therefore, caused the following official notification to be made to the French ambassador, by the duke of Alba, in reply to the formal invitation sent to him through St. Sulpice and de Méru, by Catherine de Medici; "that although he greatly desired the accomplishment of the interview between her Christian majesty, and the queen his consort, he could not, nevertheless, be present, for fear of exciting the suspicions of the sovereigns his allies; but that he would deliberate on the best method of giving effect to the interview and on the mode of its conduct."¹ St. Sulpice replied, "that as far as the mode of the interview were concerned, he was of opinion that ceremony was superfluous between such near relatives. That if the queen of Spain journeyed to Bayonne, to meet the king and the queen her mother, their said majesties would give her the *rendez-vous*; and by so doing, the Catholic queen would perform the act of a dutiful daughter, in thus proceeding to meet her mother." St. Sulpice spoke thus to the point, as on the first rumour of the proposed interview, the Spanish nobles intrenched themselves behind the privileges of their grandeeship, and declared that it would be a gross infringement of etiquette, and the dignity of the Spanish throne for Elizabeth and her court to travel to meet her mother; unless her Christian majesty would advance some distance into Spain, and thus make equal ceremonious

¹ Advis donné par le sieur de St. Sulpice sur l'entrevue de la Roynie à Bayonne—MS. Bibl. Imp., Mortem., fol. xxxix.—Ined.

concession to her daughter. The nobles, moreover, affirmed that the suite of the Catholic queen ought not to comprehend any of higher ancestral or official rank than the personages in the train of queen Catherine. The duke of Alba responded to the observation made by St. Sulpice, and observed, "that the king and queen-mother of France were visiting Bayonne on their own concerns, and, therefore, travelled no way to meet Doña Isabel; while, on the contrary, her Catholic majesty had no affair at Bayonne. He thought, therefore, that the queen, her mother, ought to make some days' journey into Spain, when her daughter would meet her close to the frontier as possible." St. Sulpice retorted with spirit; "that it would indeed afford wonder to all, to see so august a queen as her Christian majesty, travel any distance to receive her own daughter. Moreover, that king Charles was not likely to countenance such a proceeding, as the presence and society of his mother were necessary to him. It would be more becoming, therefore, for the Spanish court to appoint some small frontier town of their own, for the sojourn of her Catholic majesty and her court, when the queen, her mother, would also remain within French territory. At all events, let the pre-eminence which God had given the mother over her own child be respected."¹ The duke silenced, though not convinced, dismissed the ambassador with the promise of laying his remonstrance before his majesty. Philip

¹ MS. Bibl. Imp., Mortem., fol. xxxix.—Ined.

meantime, himself deigned to write to his ambassador at the court of Vienna the famous Chantonnay, a specious statement of the reasons which had induced him to decline a personal interview with his mother-in-law. "She, the queen-mother," writes his majesty.¹ "very greatly desires that we should meet on the frontier at Perpignan, or Bayonne; and in truth I should like much to see and make acquaintance with her majesty personally, and to afford her the pleasure of receiving, and seeing the queen my wife, especially as she writes, that although her delight is great to see her daughter, her majesty's satisfaction would be complete if she could also meet me at this interview. Taking this fact into consideration, and also the entreaties addressed to me on this matter by the queen my wife, and wishing to gratify her majesty, and the queen her mother in this their desire, I have authorized her majesty to reply to the Christian queen, that it will afford me much delight to promote their interview at Fontarabia; but that I cannot be present at the meeting on account of weighty occupations and matters which absorb my leisure. So by the good pleasure of the Almighty, you may deem it certain that the interview between the two queens will happen early in the spring."

The duke of Alba, a few days after the despatch of this epistle, sent for St. Sulpice, and officially communicated the expression of his Catholic majesty's regret. "That he could not receive the king and

¹ MS. Simancas, K. 1392, A.—Ined.

queen of France on the frontier; but that her majesty the queen of Spain, would journey to Bayonne to meet her mother, probably about the 10th day of April, 1565; but that king Philip would himself signify the precise period in a letter to queen Catherine." This formal decision relieved St. Sulpice from great embarrassment; for throughout the discussion of the question, the Spanish court demeaned itself as if conferring a favour on that of France, by condescending to entertain such a project as the interview.

Philip and his consort retired as usual to spend the Christmas festivities of 1564, at Aranjuez, while Doña Juana, sought the solitude of her cloister in Madrid, which was rapidly advancing in stately architecture and wealth. On the return of the royal pair to Madrid, before Easter, 1565, preparations commenced for the interview between the queens. The utmost perplexity existed among the high functionaries of the court for the ordering of this progress. Embarrassed between their love of luxury, and their overweening notions of punctilio, the discomfiture was signal. "*Cette cour n'est accoutumée de voyager,*" was the comment of the ambassador to his own court—a court which was so magnificent, yet withal so well ordered, that the three hundred ladies, who generally followed in Catherine's progresses, occasioned her *maréchaux de logis* little more solicitude for their lodging, than if the Louvre itself, at the end of each day's journey, was to open its portal for their reception.

Elizabeth's journey and its objects, continued still to be discussed with great mystery and reserve. St. Sulpice, wrote to Catherine de Medici; "I have as yet, madame, learnt nothing positive on the subject of the journey; for every thing is treated slowly, and so secretly between the king and the queen, that no other except the duke of Alba, knows any particular of it. They give out at court, sometimes, one thing, sometimes another, as suits their purpose; and because the preparations are not yet concluded, the journey has been repeatedly postponed."¹ The selection of personages to attend the queen, became also a source of much debate and heart-burning, All her majesty's chief ladies clamorously demanded permission to accompany their royal mistress; some pleading the offices they held in the household; others, the distinguished services performed by their ancestors. Philip, however, with his own hand, drew the list of those who were to be the queen's attendants; and persisted in his decision, despite the expostulations, and even tears, of the ladies whom he excluded. The French ambassador, requested that Ruy Gomez, who was a personage greatly esteemed at the court of France, might attend the queen. "No, Monseigneur," replied Philip, in reply to the ambassador, "during her majesty's journey; the Prince, my son, must go to Nuestra Señora de Guadaloupé, and I would trust the prince with no man on earth, excepting the prince of Eboli." Ruy Gomez, who greatly desired to share in the

¹ Dépêches de St. Sulpice—MS. Bibl. Imp., t. I., 9746.—Ined.

approaching festivities, requested St. Sulpice, to prefer the same request again, adding, "that he wished to be absent only for about twelve days; and that the king had been persuaded by the Castilian nobles to withhold his consent; as they hated him as a Portuguese, and a friend to the French."¹ Philip, however, was not to be persuaded to suffer Ruy Gomez to leave his charge even for the period of twelve days. The king, felt the more anxiety concerning his son, as the prince had fallen latterly into a condition of melancholy misanthropy; being afflicted at intervals, with bilious fever, from which, indeed, he seems never to have been completely free. "The prince is sad and melancholy, and turns his mind to nothing;" writes a correspondent at this period, to the cardinal Granvelle. "It is to be feared that neither king Philip himself, nor any of his posterity will attain to the virtues and excellencies of those who have gone before." The condition of mental prostration displayed by the prince at this season, is described to have been "pitiable." "There is nothing to be done with the prince," says another writer. "He cares for nothing, and believes everything that is said to him; if he were told that he was dead, he would believe it!" The health of Don Carlos, was carefully watched by Olivarez, and by his indefatigable tutor, Don Garcia de Toledo, who at this season spent many anxious nights by the couch of his wayward charge. The prince used often to say "that

¹ Dépêches de St. Sulpice à la royne mère—MSS. de Mortemart, Bibl. Imp.

he wished he might die!" and he frequently entertained his governor with doleful prognostics. His father's authority, the prince declared, seemed ever opposed to thwart his desires, and to curb his enterprises. He greatly wished for the public acknowledgment of his betrothal to the archduchess Anne; a desire the king refused to gratify, stating publicly, as the reason of his refusal, "that the excesses of the prince had so impaired his health, as to render him unfit to contract matrimony." Probably a matrimonial engagement might have somewhat subdued the violence of the prince's temperament: for the assurance would, perhaps, have proved beneficial, that there was one person whose interests were identical with his own; and whom, consequently, he could not suspect of league with his foes. Don Carlos, at this period, however, experienced one vivid contentment,—the pope sent his chamberlain, count Ladislaus Raguzzi, to Madrid, to invest the prince with a consecrated sword, and to bestow upon him the pontifical blessing.¹ Philip suffered the ceremony to be performed with great pomp; but as it had before happened that the desponding fits of Don Carlos had been succeeded by frenzy so desperate as to defy control, the king would not permit Eboli to relax guard over the actions of the prince; but sent both the governor and his pupil for a season to the Jeronomite Monastery of Nuestra Señora de Guadaloupé, in order that the Blessed Virgin, whom

¹ *Dépêches de St. Sulpice*—MS. Bibl. Imp., t. I., 9746.—Ined.

Philip's rebel Flemish subjects called "doll and idol," and reviled under the nick-name of "Mariette," might pray for the health and well-being of his son.

Philip chose to appear much dissatisfied when he heard of the magnificent preparations of the French court; "as if," said his majesty, "the queen of France were about to receive a foreign princess, instead of her own daughter." He thereupon ordered the princess of Eboli to notify to the ladies chosen to attend Elizabeth, "that her majesty deprecated foolish and extravagant expenditure on the occasion; and that she considered the robes which the ladies of the household ordinarily wore, were costly and magnificent enough, and ought to be worn full nine months longer." Philip, also, forbade the courtiers to purchase new embroideries in silver or gold for their habits, adding, "that he hoped in France they would act on the same principle; in order, that a meeting, which was planned for pleasure, and not for ostentatious display, might not give occasion for grievous expenses." The French court, however, was not inclined to follow Philip's prudent suggestions; and the report of the sumptuous equipages of the nobility, and the lavish expenditure of Catherine and her son, compelled the king, very much against his will, eventually to recall his prohibitions; and to permit his subjects to select what equipment they chose. Moreover, the large cortège of king Charles, rendered it

¹ *Négociations de St. Sulpice*—Bibl. Imp., MS., 16 Février, 1564.
—Ined.

imperative to triple the number of personages selected to accompany the queen ; all which greatly discomposed the Catholic king.

It was when in no very gracious humour, therefore, that Philip was apprized by Don Francisco de Alava, that Catherine de Medici had invited the queen of Navarre, Condé, Coligny, and d'Andelot, to meet Elizabeth at Bayonne. The pious monarch was horrified at the defilement which his consort would contract by her intercourse with the arch-supporters of heresy. Philip pondered upon the effect which this colloquy would have upon the minds of his contumacious rebels of the Low Countries. The object of this meeting was to strike awe in the bosom of dissentients from the faith of Rome ; but the king sagaciously opined, that the result must essentially differ, when it became known that his consort had graced a festive board in company with the leaders of the "apostacy." The king lost no time in imparting his displeasure to Elizabeth. "I hear," said King Philip, "that the queen your mother has invited madame de Vendôme, and the prince de Condé. It is impossible that I can permit you, Señora, to meet these said personages ; partly because they have acted so wickedly in the matter of religion ; and partly because you could not treat the said madame de Vendôme, as queen, or call her "sister," without trenching on my dignity. To term her merely cousin, when the queen of France calls her sister, would, on the other hand, be unbecoming. As

for the son of this said madame de Vendôme, he is still a child, whom God will not allow to remain in ignorance; he, therefore, may be present at the meeting as a French prince of the blood!"¹ Elizabeth imparted her husband's scruples to St. Sulpice, who warmly remonstrated with the queen on the indignity of his Catholic majesty, "wishing to impose a law upon the king of France, and upon the queen his mother." He represented that to refuse to receive the Huguenot princes at the conference of Bayonne, would be to confirm the sinister statements relative to the interview already current. Elizabeth promised to mention these observations to the king her husband, but said, "she had not much hope of inducing his majesty to withdraw his objection."

The duke of Alba, in an interview with St. Sulpice, strongly insisted on his majesty's determination not to suffer his consort to associate with heretics. Alba's language was even uncourteous in its uncompromising tenor: he stated, "that if the personages named by the king, or if any other, whose conversation might be unacceptable to the queen, should appear at Bayonne, her majesty would turn back if she had advanced to within a mile of that city."² The duke then assured St. Sulpice, that this interview, if entered upon in a spirit of conciliation, would greatly profit Christendom; "for," said he, "the

¹ *Négociations de St. Sulpice. Lettre secrète à la royne mère, MS., t. I., 9748.*

² *MSS. de Mortemart, Dépêches de St. Sulpice, No. 9748.*

hearts of both parties must be laid open." St. Sulpice aptly responded; "that on the side of France, at any rate, this had always been the case without dissimulation, or secrecy." Another day, however, the prince of Eboli said—"Pleasure will not alone monopolize our court when at Bayonne; but we shall be occupied in confirming the favourable view which their majesties bear towards one another." The unsuspecting St. Sulpice, in rendering to Catherine account of the hostile feelings entertained by Philip against the queen of Navarre, and his stipulations relative to the interview, added, "it is to be believed, madame, that they will make an attempt to persuade you to abolish, or at least to alter those lenient laws which you have adopted. This court would be enchanted to raise again those troubles from which your prudence has rescued us."¹

Queen Catherine after she had been informed of the determination expressed by Philip not to permit his consort to meet the queen of Navarre, and other Huguenot chieftains, wrote to St. Sulpice and desired him to ask audience of the king, and remonstrate; as her majesty believed such a step would be highly detrimental "to the objects to be attained by the interview." Philip replied: "M. l'Ambassadeur, I have well considered the remonstrances which you have ere this addressed to me, that I should not exclude the so called queen of Navarre, the prince de Condé, and others, from the congress at Bayonne. I believe

¹ MSS. de Mortemart, Dépêches, &c., St. Sulpice.

that these observations have been tendered by you in all sincerity of purpose ; nevertheless, it is not in my power to alter the decision which I caused to be communicated to you through the duque de Alba. I cannot, by any means, consent that the queen my wife shall hold converse with persons, who have so arrayed themselves against the true faith. If no harm should happen from such an interview, there are many who would hold it for evil, and have a bad opinion of her Catholic majesty, and of myself also, for having sanctioned such an event. I bear the said personages no ill-will ; but deem, that professing such opposite religions, we can share nothing in common.”¹ The same day the king wrote to his ambassador Alava, a despatch drawn in most positive language. He requested to know whether it was true that madame de Vendôme, Condé and others were invited to Bayonne ; and if so, after making every possible remonstrance to queen Catherine, he was to declare, if she persisted in the project, that the interview would not be holden.² Catherine at once acquiesced, and gave her royal word that not one person obnoxious to the king of Spain should be invited. The ambassador Alava, nevertheless, a few weeks afterwards, maliciously wrote ; “ This queen has sent to Bayonne to make great collection of provisions, &c., for the entertainment of the queen our mistress. She

¹ *Négociations de St. Sulpice*—MS. Bibl. Imp., t. i., 9746.—Ined.

² *Archives de Simancas*, MS., B. 19, p. 328. *El Rey a Don F. de Alava*.—Ined.

has summoned several ladies professing the Huguenot faith, who do not habitually reside at court ; amongst others it is said that her Christian majesty has sent to madame de Vendôme—perhaps, with the intent, after all, of being accompanied by her.” On the margin of Alava’s despatch, Philip, as he perused it, angrily wrote, “ *Si tal es, yo no dexare ir a la Reyna.*”

The ambassador, Alava, did all in his power to frustrate an interview that he perceived Catherine so heartily desired, and the exact import of which he did not comprehend. The disrespectful deportment of Don Francisco is often bitterly inveighed against by Catherine in her correspondence ; indeed, the Spanish ambassador appears to have considered himself privileged to adopt the insolent and mysterious manner that had rendered the far more able Chantonnay so unpopular at the French court.

Catherine de Medici, meanwhile, hoping to frustrate these intrigues, addressed her acknowledgments to Philip by the following letter, which she despatched by La Mothe Fénelon :—

CATHERINE DE MEDICI TO PHILIP II., KING OF SPAIN.

“ Monsieur mon fils,

“ Having heard from the queen my daughter, and from the Sieur de St. Sulpice, and by your ambassador, that it has pleased your majesty to permit your consort

¹ “ If such is to be, I will not allow the queen to go.” MS. Simancas B. 19, p. 68.—Ined. Descifrada de Don F. de Alava à su Majestad, du 7 Hebrero, 1565.

to journey to Bayonne to see the king her brother and me; and also, that you give us some hope that (your majesty not sojourning very far from the frontier) I may have the happiness of seeing you also, I cannot longer delay thanking your majesty for the benefit conferred upon me, and expressing the gladness I feel at witnessing the fruition of a thing I have long so ardently desired; and which I hope will not only confer an infinite pleasure on the king my son and upon myself, but prove a lasting boon for the peace and repose of Christendom. I pray God to grant me life to witness this good: moreover, Monsieur mon fils, I entreat you to believe that you have so greatly obliged me, that I never can forget, or be ungrateful. In the hope that I may speedily have opportunity to testify to you in person the joy with which this meeting inspires me, I will ask God to give you such amount of prosperity and felicity as prays,

“Your good sister, and affectionate mother,

“CATHERINE.”¹

The ambassador Alava, sends king Philip the minute of several conversations which he held at this period with Catherine, relative to her daughter's journey to Bayonne. The despatches of Alava are most entertaining and graphic; for the sarcasm of his speech equalled the audacious daring of his deportment. King Philip, in the estimation of his ambassador, was the lord and ruler of Europe; while all other potentates were but satraps, subject to his supreme behests. Ruling rather by the resources of diplomacy than by the terror of his arms, Philip liked his

¹ MS. Simancas, K. 1392, B. 20, No. 72.—Ined.

despatches from foreign courts to be filled with minute details ; he desired a complete history of the words and gestures of the personages therein concerned—and in this qualification Don Francisco de Alava was an ambassador after his own heart. On the 28th of January 1565, Philip sent the conde de Fuensalida to present a letter to Catherine, who was then at Toulouse, announcing his final assent to the meeting of the queens at Bayonne, during the ensuing spring. In her joy at this news, Catherine summoned Don Francisco to impart her content. He found the queen conferring with her son, king Charles, who had then entered his sixteenth year. After some conversation, Catherine said, “M. l’ambassadeur, all the ambassadors at this court believe that the Catholic king my son, will yet be present at this interview, though I denied the possibility of such an event, and shall still deny it.” Don Francisco advised her majesty to continue to contradict the report, and to preserve the greatest secrecy upon the matter of the interview altogether. “Upon this,” writes Don Francisco, “the Christian queen was seized with a violent fit of laughter, which she suppressed with such visible choking and heaving of the throat, that the king exclaimed, ‘Mother, you look as if you were going to weep!’ The queen then called her son to her side, and whispered something in his ear, commanding him on his life to keep it secret. The Christian king next burst out into a prolonged laugh ; he then approached me saying,

“Don Francisco, compose yourself, be assured that I will keep this secret:” then addressing his mother, the king said, “Madame, you have never before commanded me to maintain the thing a secret!” “Are you not very joyous, M. l’ambassadeur, that this interview is decided upon?” presently asked the queen. “Yes, madame.” “You speak abruptly and carelessly M. l’ambassadeur,” continued Catherine. “I pray Madame, that it may give you satisfaction; as it is stated to be an interview which will so greatly benefit the cause of religion and God!” responded Alava. “You appear to doubt this result,” continued the queen; “I pray you M. l’ambassadeur speak to me freely, and tell me your opinion on this meeting with the king my son-in-law; for it would produce great results, as we hope by the grace of God!” After much supplication on the part of their majesties, writes Don Francisco, complacently, I told them, “that I should never believe that your majesty would personally confer with them, unless it were previously well ascertained that the conference would greatly redound to the honour of God and the welfare of religion; but it seemed to me to be in the power of her Christian majesty, to bring all to a happy result, by commending this great negotiation to God, and by acting according to His inspiration.”¹

The marshal de Montluc, whose cruel zeal in the south of France had aggravated the horrors of the

¹ MS. Simancas, B. 19, p. 101—Don Francisco de Alava al Rey. Tolosa, 4 de Hebrero, 1565.—Ined.

late civil contest, expressed, to the Spanish ambassador, the most exaggerated expectations relative to the personal intervention of Philip in checking the progress of heresy. Alava coolly treats him as demented. In a despatch to his royal master, dated April 11th, Don Francisco says, "Montluc came up to me yesterday, and seizing my hand, exclaimed, 'I may live like Bourdillon and Cipierre to deceive and temporize with these heretics until my king meets the queen your mistress and those who are to attend her here; but if this meeting occurs, and no final resolution is taken to put down these heresies, I shall pass straight to the court of your king, and tell his majesty how this may alone be achieved. If this interview be not decisive on the question, all is lost in this realm of France!'"¹ Another day, Catherine annoyed and wearied with the contradictory reports which she received from Madrid, sent for the Spanish ambassador to discourse; for even amongst those initiated in the secret of the proposed conferences, doubt existed whether Philip would trust himself out of his palladium of Spain; or even suffer his young queen to visit her kindred. "Madame," said the old constable de Montmorency, "I shall believe in this interview when I see your majesty and your daughter together; otherwise, no!"²

¹ "Es desbaratadissimo (Montluc) en su hablar estramamente; pero tiene grande opinion del la gente." MS. Simancas, B. 19, p. 115.—Ined.

² MS. Simancas—Ibid, p. 157—Don F. de Alava al Duque de Alva.—Ined.

“For the love of Heaven, M. l’ambassadeur,” exclaimed queen Catherine, when Alava, obedient to her summons, had kissed her hand,¹ “contrive that no cause shall be given to interrupt this negotiation ! If we leave a loose rein to heresy, when we would grasp it again, it will no longer be in our power. For the overthrow of religion, and the destruction of the king, means one and the same thing !” “Come, come, mother,” exclaimed the young king sarcastically, “let us tell truth ! remember how often of late the cardinal de Lorraine has written to us !” “The queen upon this speech,” relates Alava, “burst into loud laughter saying, ‘Well ! let us all assemble at Bayonne, and there God will enlighten us, so that all may be remedied. I know that the reason my daughter tarries thus, is the fear entertained by the Catholic king, that the queen of Navarre, or the prince of Condé may be invited to meet her majesty.’ I suggested,” continues Alava, “that her Christian majesty would have done well to communicate on this subject with your majesty or the duque de Alba. ‘M. l’ambassadeur,’ retorted the astute Catherine, ‘I invited the said personages for a purpose, which was to compel them to change their abodes : the queen of Navarre—because she is engaged in mighty discussions with the admiral (de Coligny) and others ; Condé, because, to tell you the truth, I wished to separate him from the said admiral, which will be a great profit !’” During the

¹ MS. Simancas, B. 19, p. 115. Avril 11 de Burdeos.

month of February, Catherine, while at Bordeaux, received a notification from St. Sulpice, that the queen her daughter, would not arrive at Bayonne until the first Sunday after Easter ; if, indeed, her majesty came at all, which was doubtful, considering the state of religion in France, and the disinclination of the Spanish court to journey to the frontier. In great haste, therefore, the queen summoned Alava, and taking him apart in a chamber with Bourdillon, Cipierre, and the cardinal de Bourbon, said, " That she understood from St. Sulpice, the queen her daughter would not arrive at Bayonne before the first Sunday after Easter, and that she heard your majesty had so written to me : I replied," says Alava, " that your majesty had not so written ; but that the duque de Alba, under whose control were all arrangements respecting her majesty's journey, had said that the interview could not take place till after Easter." " Her majesty then asked me the names of the grandees likely to be in her majesty's suite, saying, ' that she had been informed that four grandees, besides six prelates had been already nominated.' To this I responded, ' that I never had heard any particular person was yet named to attend her majesty ; though I supposed the queen would be followed by her usual attendants.' With great show of anxiety, her majesty then prayed me to let her know for certain, speedily as I could, the names of those coming, as she wished to assign to them suitable cavaliers as escorts, and com-

panions during their visit. Her majesty then was pleased dexterously to change the subject, and she next asked me, 'where I supposed the queen our sovereign would keep the festival of Easter?' I replied, 'in Burgos or Valladolid.' She then said, 'that she had positive information that her majesty would celebrate Easter at Vittoria.' I again asserted my belief that it would be in Burgos; upon which her majesty began to reckon how many days' journey there would be between the latter place and Bayonne; and she proved that the queen our sovereign could not arrive there until ten days after Easter."¹ Very unsatisfactory, indeed, to Catherine must have been these conversations with Alava, if they never expanded into more confidential detail than the specimens given by the ambassador's own pen.

A few weeks after the date of this discourse, Catherine was surprised by a report, that the entire court of Spain was to accompany Elizabeth to Bayonne. Another day tidings arrived that the interview was definitively postponed by command of king Philip; as the queen being again pregnant could not bear the fatigue of the journey. These rumours, vague as they were, occasioned Catherine much disquietude. Intelligence of a more positive nature, however, presently arrived in the shape of a missive from Philip

¹ MS. Archives de Simancas, B. 19, p. 123, K. 1393, a dos de Marzo. Alava al Rey, de Tolosa, 1565.—Ined. The reason of Catherine's anxiety to ascertain the precise period when her daughter was likely to arrive, was her desire to remain with the court at Bordeaux, so as not by a premature arrival at Bayonne, to create a dearth of provisions in the neighbourhood before the visit of the queen of Spain.

wherein he expressly declared that the conference must be relinquished unless her majesty promised, under her own hand, to exclude madame de Vendôme, Condé, Coligny, and other notable Huguenots.

Catherine, who greatly dreaded lest, after all, her diplomacy should fail, hastened to assure Philip that Condé intended to remain at his castle in Champagne, and had no desire to rejoin the court, "so that monsieur, I pray you assure yourself that the queen, my daughter, has no reason to delay her journey on any account; and as the king my son, has gone greatly out of his route to meet his sister, having postponed all his affairs until after this interview, I beseech you to command that it may take place without further delay; and that I may be immediately informed of the day upon which the queen is likely to arrive at Bayonne."¹

The most sumptuous preparations, meantime, were proceeding in Madrid for the equipment of the court; and as no limit was now to be placed on the display of the nobles, who each strove to outshine the other, the expenditure was enormous. Very assiduously, also, did king Philip hold council with Alba, Eboli, Vasquez, Eraso, and Mendoza, on the political measures to be discussed at this celebrated interview. Never, during the sacred season of Lent had the orthodox court of Philip II. been so beset with mundane distractions. Instead of masses, fasts, and discipline, the king was absorbed in diplomatic

¹ MS. Simancas, K. 1393, A. B. 19.—Ined.

wiles ; and his courtiers by palace intrigues, or by projects of personal decoration.

A magnificent retinue was, at length, nominated to attend Elizabeth to the frontier. As the duke of Alba proceeded thither in the capacity of ambassador extraordinary, commissioned to invest Charles IX. with the insignia of the Golden Fleece, the post of grand-master of the queen's household was conferred on Don Juan Manrique de Lara, son-in-law of the marquis de los Velez. The dukes of Infantado, Osuna, and Naxara ; the count of Saldaña, and Benevente, grandees of the first-class, all *hijos de algo*, were appointed grand-chamberlains to her majesty. She had besides in her suite, the Prior of St. John, Don Hernandez de Toledo, son of the duke of Alba, the marquesses de Montesclaros, de los Velez, de Poza ; the condes de Fuensalida, de Castelar, and de Benevente, chamberlains in ordinary ; besides forty seven cavaliers selected from the noblest houses in Spain. The prelates chosen to attend her majesty, were Juan de Quinoñes, bishop of Calahorra, Diego Ramirez de Fuenleal, bishop of Pamplona, and Gregorio Gallo, bishop of Orihuela. The ladies of Elizabeth's suite, were the condesa de Urueña, *camarera-mayor*, the duchesses of Osuna and Naxara, the condesa de Medina, Doña Ana de Lara, wife of the queen's mayor-domo, mademoiselle de Riberac, and Doña Magdalena Giron, daughter of the *camarera*, the most lovely woman of Philip's court, and a lady greatly favoured by the queen. The marquesa de

Cenete, the mother of the young duque de Infantado, as lady of honour to Elizabeth, likewise accompanied her royal mistress. The marquesa travelled in great state, escorted by twenty cavaliers from the body-guard of the chief of Mendoza. Madame de Vineux, and thirty other ladies of the queen's bed-chamber, were also commanded to hold themselves in readiness to attend her majesty.

On the third day of April, Philip suddenly signified his intention that the court should quit Madrid. During the afternoon of the 2nd, he took leave of Doña Juana, and the French ambassadress in the apartments of the queen. Philip was to escort Elizabeth on her journey as far as Burgos; but the royal pair were only to meet in the towns and palaces on the route of sufficient magnitude to accommodate their respective suites. Before his departure, the king gave Elizabeth the itinerary of her route, charging her by no means to deviate from its strict letter; he then bade her farewell, promising soon to give her the rendezvous. The same evening, at dusk hour, the king quitted Madrid for El Escorial, taking in his suite Alba and Vasquez. The ambassador St. Sulpice was to precede Elizabeth throughout her progress by a day's journey; as the Spanish officials, and purveyors were at their posts to provide for such a cavalcade.¹

On the ninth day of April, the queen commenced her journey. A vast assemblage of persons collected

¹ *Négociations de St. Sulpice—Dépêche du 3 Avril, 1565.—Ined.*

in front of the palace to witness her majesty's departure. She was conducted to her palfrey by Doña Juana, who wept bitterly on taking leave of the queen. The prince, Don Carlos, aided her majesty to mount her horse; and after taking a most affectionate leave of all, the queen, attended by the archdukes and Don John of Austria, proceeded to her first halting place, distant three leagues from Madrid.¹ The suite of the queen, did not then include all the personages appointed to participate in the festivities of Bayonne; as many of the nobles and prelates joined the *cortège en route*. On the tenth of April, the queen arrived at Guaderrama, where she was joined by the king, who exhibited much delight at meeting his consort. The following morning the royal pair separated; the king departing for the monastery of Guisanda, where he arrived on Monday in Passion-Week. Philip confided to the queen the name of the monastery whither he intended to proceed to spend the holy week; although it was his habit to hold this a secret from all, that he might pursue his devotions without disturbance. At Guisanda, Philip was met by Don Carlos and the prince of Eboli, and afterwards it was ascertained by the court that the trio privately proceeded to El Parral of Segovia.² "This most Catholic monarch," says a contemporary historian,³ "assisted daily at such seasons at matins, and never

¹ Négociations de St. Sulpice, 13 Avril.

² Dépêches de St. Sulpice, Bibl. Imp., MSS. 9746, t. I. Dépêche du 12 d'Avril, au Roy.—Ined.

³ Mémoires de Chiverney, chancelier de France.

omitted to recite the Roman breviary. Moreover, he was in the habit of kneeling in prayer three times daily—at six o'clock in the morning, or at seven, according to the season of the year, at mid-day, and in the evening when the bell for indulgences rings. The rest of the day, this great king employed in writing despatches with his own hand; or he recreated himself by the perusal of some pious book, or meditation, whenever he was not presiding at a council.”

Elizabeth, after taking leave of her husband, continued her journey to the convent of La Mejorada, near to the town of Olmedo, where it had been settled that she should repose during the ceremonies of the holy week.¹ On Monday the 20th, the queen resumed her journey, and on the following day, she made her public entry into Medina del Campo. The *fêtes* given on the occasion of the queen's entry, cost the inhabitants the sum of 70,000 ducats.² Elizabeth was lodged at Medina, in the Castilla del Moto. The queen attended high mass in the collegiate church of San Antolin; and after the ceremony she admitted the authorities to kiss her hand. On the 24th, Elizabeth continued her journey to Tordesillas. She was here received with great joy by the king her husband, and the prince Don Carlos. The royal pair spent two days in the gloomy convent, where the unfortunate Doña Juana, grandmother of the king, wore

¹ Dépêches de St. Sulpice—Lettre à la royne, 12 Avril.—Ined.

² Carta de Madrid, 3 de Mayo, 1565—MSS. Cotton., Titus, B. vii. f. 171.—Ined.

away her melancholy existence; the reason of this sojourn, being the prayer of the authorities of Valladolid, whose lavish preparations for the reception of the queen, on this her first visit to their venerable city were not complete.

The queen made her entry on horseback on the 29th of April. Her majesty proceeded to the royal palace, where she was received by the king, and by the grandees of the court, who had journeyed to Valladolid expressly to meet her. All the principal inhabitants of the city and its vicinity were present on the occasion—"who, madame, all press forwards to kiss the hand of her Catholic majesty, making great demonstration of loving and esteeming her more than any other queen who ever reigned in Castile." The abode of the royal pair was surrounded by enchanting gardens and groves, which rivalled in extent the celebrated Campo Grande of Valladolid. Each day of her sojourn the queen was entertained by a tourney, a bull fight, or a diversion of *juego de cañas*. Her presence was greeted by the people with most tumultuous applause, "in which," says the ambassador, "the king her husband takes manifest pleasure." St. Sulpice represents the young queen at this season as having been beautiful in person, magnificent in attire, and joyous in spirits. After dinner, while the king was engaged with his council of state, Elizabeth, accompanied always by Don Carlos and Don Juan of Austria, took the diversion of an airing along the Campo; and visited the principal convents, or the palaces of the

nobles, "which," says St. Sulpice, "abound in this place of Valladolid more than in any other city of Spain."¹

But while the court of Spain thus leisurely took diversion, Catherine and her son, weary of their prolonged sojourn at Bordeaux, wrote urgent letters to their ambassador to hasten the progress of the queen. St. Sulpice asked audience of their majesties. Philip replied to the representations of this unfortunate ambassador—who toiled as never ambassador toiled before to work upon the impassable nature of the king of Spain—that he begged their Christian majesties to believe that he hastened the departure of the queen as much as possible ; but that as the people of Valladolid saw the queen, their mistress, for the first time, she could not merely pass through the city." Elizabeth requested St. Sulpice to write to her mother, and state, "that the time seemed irksome to her also, until she enjoyed her society ; yet she could not hurry her journey more than it had been forwarded, for fear of inspiring the king her lord with the thought that she was anxious to leave his society, which in truth she should deeply regret to do."² "Nevertheless, madame," writes St. Sulpice to his royal mistress,³ by way of apology, "the reason why their majesties

¹ Dépêche du 16 Mai, 1565, faite à Villanueva à la Roynne—MS. Bibl. Imp.—Ined.

² Ibid. 7 Mai, 1565, de Valladolid, au Roy.

³ Lettre secrète, du 16 Mai, 1564, à la Roynne, écrite à Villanueva.—Ined.

remain so long in Valladolid, is for the hope they have of being presented with a gift by the town to help in the great costs of this journey. They have now been here eight days, without a *réal* being forthcoming. The authorities of Burgos, however, have sent the king a present of 30,000 ducats."

The interview, during Elizabeth's sojourn in Valladolid, however, was nearly put aside altogether, owing to a letter which Catherine wrote to her daughter; in which the queen, with her habitual prevarication, stated, "that although the queen of Navarre, for reasons of her own, declined to repair to Bayonne, yet that it was by no means unlikely that Condé might present himself." Philip summoned the ambassador, and angrily demanded what such a communication meant, after he had so plainly stated his wishes to the queen-mother. "Monseigneur," said the king, with warmth, "do you wish me once more to repeat that these personages shall not be admitted into the presence of the queen my wife? I tell you that if her majesty had even reached Irun, or was only half a mile from Bayonne itself, and these personages were there, she should return! The Christian queen may surely gratify my desire, and that of her daughter in this matter." "Sire," replied St. Sulpice, "it is not a slight matter, but one, not to give cause of offence to the said personages, very important for the tranquillity of the realm of France!" "M. le Prince," replied the king, "has been now several months absent from court, without it

having endangered the peace of the realm. He may now, without feeling aggrieved, suffer their Christian majesties to spend a fortnight with the queen their daughter and sister. At any rate, I have nothing more to add on the subject, but that M. l'ambassadeur, which you have already heard !”¹

On the 14th of May, Philip and his queen journeyed to Burgos, before which city they arrived on the twentieth. Intelligence, however, reached the king when at Tardajos, a small place six miles from Burgos, that twenty-five persons had died of the plague in the city. Philip, thereupon, commanded the route to be changed ; and that Elizabeth should traverse Navarre *en route* for St. Jean de Luz. The royal travellers, therefore, journeyed to Soria, where they made a brief sojourn, probably to allow time for the muster of the personages nominated to attend the queen. The duke of Alba here took leave of his royal master, and departed to Lerin to pay a brief visit to his daughter-in-law, Doña Briande de Beaumont, condesa de Lerin ; a lady possessing a revenue of 17,000 ducats, and who had bestowed her hand and her wealth on the second son of the duke.

The change of route, which the prevalence of pestilential fevers in the provinces of Burgos and Biscaya had compelled the king to ~~ordain~~, created great consternation amongst the chamberlains and purveyors of the court ; who found their past toil of

¹ St. Sulpice—Mémoire de la Conférence au sujet de la Royne de Navarre.—Ined.

no avail, and that fresh preparations had to be made in haste. Fortunately the route through Navarre was well studded with the mansions of a wealthy and loyal nobility, who considered the honour of the queen's presence more than an equivalent for the expenditure it occasioned. After bidding a reluctant farewell to the king at Soria, Elizabeth proceeded to Tudela: she then crossed the Ebro, and journeyed to Valtierra. She travelled thence to Caparrosa and Tafalla, in which latter place she spent the night of Tuesday, June 5th, in the palace built by Charles III, king of Navarre; but which was then one of the official residences of the duque de Alburquerque, Philip's viceroy. In this route, Elizabeth followed almost the same line as on her entry into Spain. On Wednesday, June 6th, the queen made a public entry into Pamplona, where she remained one night. On Thursday her majesty proceeded to a place called Huerto-Arazuil; on the following day she reached the frontier of Navarre at Alsasua. On Saturday, June 9th, the queen entered Segura, the first town of the province of Guipuzcoa. Here she was received with much ceremony by nine gentlemen, deputies of the province, mounted on horses, and wearing caps richly adorned with silver lace. Elizabeth made her entry into the lordship of Segura, riding on a white palfrey. When the deputies approached her majesty, they dismounted, and kissed her hand; and Don Pedro de Zuaçola, a knight of Santiago, harangued the queen in the name of the town. He congratulated

her majesty on her approaching interview with the Christian king her brother, and the queen her mother, which, he said, "promised great advancement to the cause of religion." The queen was received at the gate of the town by the principal inhabitants; and was from thence escorted to the abode prepared for her. The next day being Whitsunday, the queen and her retinue heard mass pontifically celebrated by the bishop of Pamplona. The day following, her majesty resumed her journey, and proceeded to Villafrauca, where, as the place was a mere hamlet, she was welcomed by the corregidor Francisco Maldonado de Salazar, who presented several minor provincial functionaries. The court continued its heavy progress by journeying to Tolosa, which Elizabeth entered at dark hour, and was received by the inhabitants with a procession by torchlight. The conde de Benevente here joined the royal cortège, having remained at Calahorra to partake of an entertainment offered to him by the deputy Inquisitor General of Navarre, André Martinez de Ivora. On Tuesday, the 13th of June, the queen went to high mass in the church of Sta. Maria; she then quitted Tolosa for Hernani, in the vicinity of which place she was received by her brother, Henri duc d'Anjou.¹ The duke was attended by a great train, amounting to one hundred horse; the cavaliers were sumptuously attired all in the same costume—

¹ MS. de Simancas, B. 19, p. 187. 10 Junio, Bayona. Don F. de Alava al Rey.—Ined.

crimson velvet richly embroidered with gold thread and *passementerie*. Amongst these cavaliers of her own land, Elizabeth recognised the dukes de Guise, de Longueville, the Prince Dauphin d'Auvergne, son of the duke de Montpensier, the counts de Villars, de Brissac, de Vieilleville, de Méru, and de Lansac, and many others whose names she had been familiar with from her childhood. The grand Prior of Castile, bastard son of the duke of Alba, had received the duke d'Anjou on the frontier at Irun, on the 12th day of June. The duke met Elizabeth and her cavalcade about half a mile from Hernani. Henry and his cavaliers dismounted and received her majesty with ceremonious salutations; the duke then kissed the hand of his royal sister, and remounting his horse rode close by her litter, when many affectionate words and greetings ensued.

Elizabeth and her young brother dined together at Hernani; and in the evening they continued their route to St. Sebastian, a distance of nine miles, conversing together, we are told, very assiduously. At St. Sebastian the queen was received by the duque de Alba, who had travelled post from Lerin, to meet his royal mistress before her arrival at the frontier. The duke was accompanied by a numerous ~~suite~~ and a body guard of twenty cavaliers, scions of the house of Toledo. Elizabeth quitted St. Sebastian after dinner, on Wednesday, June 13th, and proceeded, attended by the magnificent court now assembled, to Irun, the last town on the frontier.

The citadel had been prepared for the abode of the queen, and for as many of her train as it would accommodate. The queen was met by a courier half way between St. Sebastian and Irun, who announced that a lady, attended by a suite of cavaliers, had alighted at her majesty's lodgings. Elizabeth, in great excitement, requested the duke of Alba to order her escort to make its greatest speed, as she felt assured that the lady was her dear mother, queen Catherine. The visitor, however, proved to be Clarice Strozzi, countess de Tende, one of Elizabeth's early companions, whom the queen-mother had sent to greet her daughter. Elizabeth invited the countess to sup privately with her; and afterwards, the two friends sat long together engaged in pleasant discourse. The duke d'Anjou, when the collation was over, sent to ask her majesty whether she would not cross the river to St. Jean that night. The queen in her reply requested her brother to excuse her, as being fatigued, she had laid aside her coif and head-dress.¹ The duke, therefore, remained at Irun with his sister, after first despatching a messenger to queen Catherine with the intelligence that her Catholic majesty was in good health, and intended, without fail, to cross the frontier early on the following morning.

¹ Archives de Simancas, K. 1393, B. 19. El duque de Alva al Rey. 15 Junio, 1563.—Ined.

CHAPTER II.

Entry of Charles IX. into Bordeaux—Dissensions of the nobles—Arrival of the queen of Spain at Irun—Ceremonies of her reception in France—Entry of Elizabeth into St. Jean de Luz—Correspondence between the duke of Alva and the king of Spain—Entry of the queen of Spain into Bayonne—Details of the interview—Political conferences—Attitude of the French court—Fêtes given during the sojourn of the queen of Spain in France—Conferences between the queen and her mother, Catherine de Medici—King Charles is invested with the Order of the Golden Fleece—Correspondence between Catherine and Philip II.—Departure of the queen of Spain for the frontier—Ceremonies of her re-embarkation—Her departure from France—Letter of king Charles to Philip II.—Journey of Elizabeth through Spain—She is met by the king at Sepulveda—The royal pair proceed to Segovia.

ON Saturday, June 2nd, 1565, while Elizabeth was at Tudela, in Navarre, Charles IX. arrived at Bayonne, by water from Bordeaux. Queen Catherine, with her daughter madame Marguerite, had preceded the king by several days; and entered Bayonne without ceremony, as Catherine desired to superintend the preparations for the reception of her daughter. On the Sunday following his arrival, Charles made a state entry into Bayonne. Early in the forenoon, the king, attended by the chief nobles

of his household, entered a highly decorated barge, and proceeded down the river a distance of three miles. The royal party landed in a meadow, where, under a spacious tent, an entertainment had been provided. The collation over, Charles and his suite re-entered the boat, and returned to Bayonne. His majesty landed under a sumptuous canopy erected near the bridge, for the purpose of receiving an harangue from the municipality. The authorities, moreover, presented the king with a golden model of the town of Bayonne. Charles graciously accepted the gift; but he nevertheless afterwards gave the model away to the son of the Baron de Lansac. The king then mounted a horse richly caparisoned, and attended by the princes his brothers, by Henry prince of Navarre, by the cardinals de Bourbon and de Lorraine, and the dukes de Guise, de Longueville, de Nemours, de Montmorency, de Nevers, and de Montpensier, besides many others of the chief nobles of the realm, he rode to the lodging prepared for him, where his majesty was received by Catherine and her court.¹

Never before had such a multitude of noble personages congregated together in the vicinity of Bayonne. For leagues around the town the country resembled a vast encampment. The great nobles, summoned by the queen to be present at the interview with Elizabeth, brought retinues in proportion to their rank. The town of Bayonne itself was assigned

¹ MS. de Colbert—Bibl. Imp., 140, fo. 495.—Ined.

for the accommodation of the households of king Charles, and of the queen of Spain ; while the houses of the towns, villages, and hamlets in the neighbourhood, were seized and appropriated by the royal *maréchaux de logis*, sometimes after the summary ejection of the rightful owners. King Charles was escorted by his body guard, consisting of more than five hundred men at arms, under the command of the marshal Strozzi. All the members of the household, down to those of lowest grade, were clad in liveries of crimson satin, or velvet, adorned with *passementerie* of silver, all new for the occasion. The splendid attire exhibited by the knights of St. Michael, and by various lords of the court, challenged admiration ; and the extravagance of their equipment fully bore out the repute for refinement in luxury, for which the court of France was renowned. A vast hall for the banquets and ceremonies of state, was constructed of woodwork, by command of the king. The interior was hung with arras of great price ; and with velvet hangings very sumptuously embroidered with the arms and cognizance of France and Spain. Queen Catherine, moreover, commanded that an octagon apartment of great dimensions should be raised on an islet of the Garonne, close to the bridge at Bayonne, to serve as a place of daily entertainment for the inferior persons in her daughter's suite. Vast quantities of gold plate for the table, shields, and jewelled trophies, were brought to Bayonne, from the treasure chambers of the Louvre and Fontainebleau.

The royal *garde-meu*ble was rifled of all the satin, velvet, and arras hangings in store, to furnish suitable apartments for the Spanish ladies and grandees; while chairs, tables, beds, and mirrors, were brought from distant palaces, and castles, and applied to the same purposes. The nobles, also, provided very rich adornments for the apartments assigned to them. The queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, sent sumptuous tapestries wrought with gold and silver thread, for the décoration of the lodgings of her son, prince Henry. She also forwarded hangings for the use of the cardinal de Bourbon, her brother-in-law. Queen Jeanne, seems to have acted with great liberality on this occasion; for although the interview was holden within her territories, and she had been excluded by Philip II. from participating in the festival, she placed the treasures of her castles of Pau and Nerac, at the disposal of Catherine.¹

The most sumptuous provision, meantime, continued to be made for the pastime of the two courts; ists for the tourney, with balconies built of costly woods were erected. Pavilions adorned with heraldic devices, were reared on the banks of the Garonne, from whence the queens might view the aquatic entertainments offered by the municipality of Bayonne. Masques were invented of most ingenious description; and allegorical pieces composed and presented to Catherine, in celebration of the union between France

¹ Récit de monsieur de la Corbière sur l'entrevue de Bayonne—Bibl. Imp., MSS. de Colbert, vol. 140, fol. 474.—Ined.

and Spain. Neither was preparation omitted for the political conferences about to ensue. The king and his mother took up their abode in the episcopal palace: lodgings being assigned to the queen of Spain in a large mansion adjacent; and by the command of queen Catherine, a private gallery was so constructed that she could pass unobserved at any hour into her daughter's apartment. When some of the more prudent of Charles' ministers, ventured to observe to her majesty; "that in the present exhausted condition of the exchequer, and with the very probable event of another civil war impending, it was impolitic to make so vast an expenditure for this interview with the queen her daughter—" Catherine peremptorily replied, "that the literal truth of their observation, was the reason wherefore she sanctioned so great an outlay of money; for the reputation of the kingdom must be maintained, at least in outward matters, the more especially as the national funds were failing."

Though Catherine was present to direct the preparations for the interview between the courts, she found it impossible to allay the animosities and jealousies which arose amongst such an assemblage of nobles as that which she had gathered round her at Bayonne.¹ Disputes relative to precedence were of daily occurrence; and often it was found impossible to adjust the vexatious points raised without direct reference to the sovereigns. The most serious

¹ Bossuet, *Hist. de France*, t. iv. p. 361.

contest which occurred, was that between the dukes de Longueville and de Guise. This latter, though only a youth of fifteen years old, already displayed the high and ambitious spirit of his race, and claimed precedence over the duke de Longueville, in virtue of his alleged descent from Charlemagne, and the close alliance of his family with the house of Bourbon. The duke de Longueville, who was the representative of the count de Dunois,¹ illegitimate son of Louis duke d'Orleans, pleaded the blood of Valois ; the privilege conceded to the posterity of de Dunois to take precedence next to the princes of the blood ; and his office of hereditary lord high chamberlain. Catherine summoned a council to decide on the pretensions of these princes : witnesses were called on both sides ; but as the heralds deposed that at the baptism of the queen of Spain, François duke de Guise held rank after the royal princes, only on account of the minority of his nephew the duke de Longueville, a decision was issued in favour of the claims of the latter. Catherine herself signified her pleasure on the question, being always rejoiced to humble the arrogant pretensions of the Guises ; her majesty added, " that in case the said princes could not content themselves with the decision notified, she commanded them both to retire from Bayonne, as it

¹ Jean d'Orleans count de Dunois and de Longueville, illegitimate son of Louis duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI., was born in 1403. The count valiantly served Charles VII. and Louis XI., kings of France. He espoused Françoise, sister of the duke d'Alençon, and died in 1448, honoured by the title of " Restaurateur de la Patrie."

was not her intent to suffer the rejoicings to be interrupted by their rivalries." A similar feud next ensued between the dukes de Nevers and de Nemours, which was decided in favour of the former, who claimed descent from the houses of Burgundy, Albret, and Bourbon ; while the duke de Nemours traced his ancestry only from the ducal line of Savoy. When these questions had been satisfactorily adjusted, king Charles informed the lords of his council present, that wishing to confer a token of friendship and alliance upon his good brother, the Catholic king, he had presented to him the body of St. Eugenio, with the shrine which contained that precious relic. His majesty added, " that the gift had been received with extreme joy by king Philip ; inasmuch as St. Eugenio was deemed to be one of the first apostles who had planted the true faith in Spain ; and that commissioners were then on their road to St. Denis to superintend the removal of the sacred body thence to the cathedral of Toledo ; where, by his majesty's command, a very exalted position had been assigned to the saint, who had been the first bishop of Toledo, A.D. 65." " Thus every thing at last finds its value ; for the saintly relic will be worth its weight in gold there over the mountains," is the somewhat sceptical comment of the chronicler.¹

The subordinate functionaries of the court, meanwhile, diligently issued mandates for the government of all persons in their departments during the ap-

¹ Bibl. Imp., MSS. de Colbert, vol. 140 fol. 474.—Ined.

proaching high festival. By order of the provost-marshal, a whipping post was erected in the centre of the town, for the punishment of lackeys, ushers and others, who might draw a sword within the precincts occupied by the court. A gallows was also provided, to hang individuals, not of noble rank, convicted of carrying pistols, "without previous form or process whatever." It was also ordained that no one should crowd round their majesties; or trespass on the carpets laid down in churches, when the royal family were present at mass, under very grievous penalties. An order was likewise issued denouncing severe corporal punishments to any bold enough to steal the flambeaux placed for the purposes of illumination. The king's chief *maitre-d'hôtel* received commands to appoint twelve torch-bearers, and to provide each man with a torch of white virgin wax, and to post them in the vestibule of the palace ready to escort to their homes any noble personages whom it might please the king thus to honour.¹

On Saturday the 9th of June, intelligence reached Bayonne of the arrival of the queen of Spain at Segura in Guipuzcoa. On the afternoon of the same day, the duke d'Anjou quitted Bayonne to meet her majesty on the frontier. King Charles and his mother, witnessed from a balcony the departure of the young duke and his splendid band of one hundred cavaliers. The duke proceeded as far as St.

¹ Bibl. Imp., MSS. de Colbert, vol. 140. folio 480.—Ined.

Jean de Luz, where he spent Whitsunday June 10th. On the following day he journeyed to Irun ; where he was received by the grand Prior of Castile, as has been before related.

On Whitsunday, Charles touched for the Evil after high mass had been celebrated in presence of the court. The heat of the weather was intense ; so that the pressure of the crowd within the cathedral, and in the narrow streets adjacent thereto, was attended with disastrous loss of life. Within the cathedral, fifteen children were suffocated in the throng. The chronicler relates, that many afflicted persons from the Basque country, and from the neighbourhood of Pamplona, who had travelled to seek relief from the miraculous gift ascribed to the Christian king, could not hold their eyes from contemplating with admiration the young prince of Navarre, the heir of their own deposed kings of the line of Albret, and who stood on the right of the king, during the imposition of his majesty's hands on the sufferers.¹ On Tuesday the 12th, Charles and his mother proceeded to St. Jean de Luz² in readiness to receive the queen of Spain as soon as she should reach the frontier. On the afternoon of this day, the duke d'Anjou met his royal sister at Hernani ; from whence he despatched a courier to inform their Christian majesties of the prompt arrival of the queen. The following morn-

¹ Bibl. Imp. MSS, de Colbert, vol. 140. fol. 474.—Ined.

² The king was received by a troop of young boys and girls with flutes and tambourines, who ran before the royal cortège, shouting "Vive le Roy !"

ing the king went on board the 'Carolus,' a galeass lying in harbour at St. Jean de Luz, and performed the ceremony of naming the ship. The attempt to float her, however, proved a failure; the king, therefore, retired grievously disappointed, and spent the afternoon in witnessing dances performed by Basque peasants in costume.¹ Catherine, meantime, who was in a state of feverish anxiety to meet her daughter, received private intelligence that the queen had arrived at Fuenterrabia having, for some unknown reason, avoided Irun, at which place she was to have spent the night. Catherine, therefore, summoned the cardinal de Bourbon; and attended by the prelate, she entered her litter, and set out for Fuenterrabia, hoping to take her daughter by surprise. The queen and the cardinal had proceeded half way, when a messenger overtook them, sent by king Charles with information that the guns from the fortress of Irun, were then saluting in honour of her Catholic majesty's entry into that town; and that a message had arrived from the duke d'Anjou which expressly stated the intention of his royal sister there to spend the night.

On the following morning, Thursday June the 14th, by day-break all was alive and stirring in the town of St. Jean. Arches, garlands, and banners decorated the streets; guards were placed at intervals to restrain the enthusiasm of the people, and the town authorities donned betimes their robes of

¹ Bibl. Imp., MSS. Colbert, vol. 140. fol. 495.—Inéd.

ceremony, and betook themselves to the stations allotted them in the programme of the ceremonial. At dawn, the princess de la Roche-sur-Yon¹ mistress of the robes to queen Catherine, and Renée de Savoye, countess d'Urfé, attended by several noblemen, passed the river and proceeded to Irun, to inquire after the health of her Catholic majesty, and to compliment her in the name of the king and queen. The princess de la Roche, and her companions were received by the *camaréra-mayor* and the duchesses of Osuna and Naxara, who made favourable report of her majesty's health; but stated that being much fatigued she was still reposing. By the time that Catherine's ladies crossed the Bidassoa, on their return, the sun had risen, and a scene of stirring excitement greeted them on the banks of that picturesque river. Strozzi's bands lined the French bank of the river, from St. Jean de Luz to the point where the meeting between the sovereigns was to take place. Four companies of the king's gentlemen-at-arms were posted at intervals. On the banks of the river, upon a green and beautiful glade, a trellised pavilion had been constructed, very elaborately wreathed with garlands of flowers and leaves, mingled with emblematic devices, and surmounted by the flags of France and Spain. The interior was luxuriously furnished with rich carpets,

¹ Philippe de Montespedon, Dame de Chemillé et de Beaupreau. Philippe had married, first, the marshal de Montejan, and on his decease, her great wealth procured her the honour of a royal alliance with Charles de Bourbon prince de la Roche-sur-Yon.

chairs and couches. A sumptuous collation was also there provided consisting, we are told, of hams from Mayence, tongues very exquisitely cured, sausages, pasties, salads, preserves and sweetmeats, and all manner of fruits—likewise claret wine, and other wines, the produce of the choicest vineyards of France and Spain in great abundance.¹

At ten o'clock, king Charles, Catherine, and the chief nobles and ladies quitted St. Jean de Luz. The king was escorted by a troop of light horse. On reaching the pavilion, Charles placed himself on a divan, talking with vivacity to those around, and appearing to derive amusement from watching the animated scene before him. Whether by design, or accident, the king and his mother waited beneath this pavilion for more than two hours, before a single individual of the Spanish court appeared on the opposite bank of the river. Probably the duque de Alba, who regulated the movements of his royal mistress from the time that he joined her train, thought this a happy occasion to vindicate the dignity of the Spanish court, which had condescended to march to the frontier. During this interval, Charles watched the passage of the baggage belonging to the Spaniards, which was borne by sumpter mules, driven by men wearing conical caps, and mounted on mules. The heat, however, became so

¹ Bibl. Imp. MSS. de Colbert, vol. 140. fo. 462.—Ined. Marquis D'Aubais—Pièces Fugitives sur l'Histoire de France. Voyage d'Abel Jouan, t. i. note 24, 25.

intense, that six soldiers of Strozzi's band, which was obliged to stand to arms during this delay, fell dead, struck by a *coup-de-soleil*; while several of the royal footmen expired from thirst and apoplexy.¹

Meantime, a muster of Elizabeth's court took place about twelve o'clock, as soon as intelligence arrived at Irun, that the baggage had passed the Bidassoa. After a time, the French descried an advance towards the banks of the river of three hundred mounted archers of the body-guard of his Catholic majesty, who took up their position. Presently the standard of Spain was hoisted on the fort of Irun, amid the salute of artillery, and the cheers of the garrison; while many of her majesty's chamberlains and her officers entered boats and crossed the river. Queen Catherine, accompanied by the princess de la Roche-sur-Yon, the cardinals de Lorraine and Guise, and the marshal de Bourdillon, then announced her intention of crossing the river over to the Spanish territory. A bridge of boats had been constructed; and over this Catherine passed just as the royal cavalcade escorted by a battalion of guards, descended the heights of Irun. Elizabeth rode in a litter, attended by the *camaréra-mayor*. As soon as the queen of Spain appeared, the French soldiers opened *à feu de joie*, with very great effect—fireworks were let off, and the bands of king Charles saluted her majesty with joyous strains. The *coup-d'œil* which greeted Elizabeth was grand and pic-

¹ Bibl. Imp. MSS. F. de Colbert, vol. 140. fo. 454.

turesque ; before her flowed the Bidassoa, its banks thronged by the élite of her fatherland in gallant array, headed by the king. Behind frowned the rocky heights of Irun, alive with the thousands gathered to witness the ceremonial of the meeting of the courts ; around her were assembled the noblest princes of Spain—the possessors of names even then historical and illustrious by gallant achievements. Catherine advanced a few steps from the bridge, and there waited the approach of her daughter. Elizabeth rose when the procession halted, and she beheld her mother ; then regardless of etiquette, she sprang from the litter without waiting for the aid of her chamberlain, and hastened towards the queen, her attitude testifying great joy and emotion. Elizabeth, however, suddenly remembered that she was Catholic queen of Spain, and had to support that supreme dignity in the face of the court. She, therefore, paused, and, then approached her mother, making dignified obeisances, and stooped to kiss her hand.¹ Catherine, however, quickly prevented this act, which would have given offence to the Spaniards ; but throwing her arms round her daughter, she tenderly embraced her.² Tears streamed down the cheeks of

¹ Bibl. Imp. MSS. de Colbért, vol. 140. f. 462.—Ined.

² Questa reina madre amando tanto teneramente la reina di Spagna, come ella fa non ha possuto aspettar pui fresche novelle di lei e insieme, con el Re suo figlio, e partita ieri per San Giovanni de Lus, tre leghe lontan di qua, per rincontrala, e poterla abraacciar a su modo : e di poi, la condurano qua e farassi la sua entrata con grandissima festa e allegrezza. —Carta de P. Antonio de Pece al Señor Gozalo Perez—Simancas, K. 1393, A.—Ined.

the young Elizabeth as she clung to her mother, regardless of the gaze of the court, and scarcely able to restrain her sobs. "Their majesties shed so many tears," recounts the chronicler, "that when they reached the bank of the river, their eyes were still moist with weeping."¹ King Charles, from the opposite bank, anxiously watched the approach of the queens; and when the boat had nearly reached the bank, he sprang lightly in, and first making profound obeisance to his sister, as to the queen of Spain, he tenderly embraced her; taking care, however, not to violate Spanish decorum by giving her majesty a kiss. Elizabeth was then handed from the boat by her brother, amidst a great crash of musketry from the arquebuses of the Spaniards, and conducted to the pavilion, being preceded by bands of musicians.

The duke of Alba and the *camaréra-mayor* landed next. The condesa de Urueña was received by the princess de la Roche-sur-Yon, who although a princess of the blood, ceded the *pas*, by the express command of queen Catherine. The ladies and gentlemen of the Spanish court followed indiscriminately.

The royal party, meantime, reposed beneath the pavilion, during the space of an hour. Catherine seemed unable to turn her eyes away from contemplating her daughter, and she was observed to embrace her repeatedly. Elizabeth it is recorded, talked and wept alternately, so great was her joy at again beholding the queen her mother. Preparations;

¹ Bibl. Imp. MSS. de Colbert, vol. 140. fol. 462.—Ined.

as the day declined, commenced for the return of the royal party to St. Jean ; where the queen of Spain was to spend the night. Catherine's chief equerry, at a signal from her majesty, brought to the door of the pavilion a beautiful milk white palfrey, richly caparisoned with housings of black velvet fringed with tags of silver, and embroidered in fine pearls, with the cypher and the device of Henry II. Elizabeth's royal father. These sumptuous trappings were valued at the sum of 25,000 ducats. The queen then presented her daughter with the palfrey and its housings ; and king Charles lifted her into the saddle, that thus she might make her entry into St. Jean de Luz.¹ Elizabeth rode between her mother and her brother ; she was followed by the united courts of France and Spain ; each grandee of Spain being escorted by a French noble of suitable rank. The duke of Alba was consigned to the courteous attentions of M. de Rambouillet ; the conde de Benevente rode with M. de Vauguyon ; the duque de Naxara with the baron de Terride ; and the duque de Osuna was escorted by M. de Sihoux. The bishops were matched with French prelates. All these French noblemen were directed to be always at the command of the noble personages committed to their guidance ; and to afford them entertainment to the best of their ability.² The contrast between the French cavaliers who were mounted on splendid

¹ Bibl. Imp. MSS. de Colbert, vol. 140. fol. 462.—Ined.

² MSS. de Colbert, vol. 140. f. 474.—Ined.

chargers, with their plumes, velvet cloaks, and jewelled hilted swords, and the Spanish nobles was conspicuous. The latter wore *sombreros* and black cloaks; they were mounted on mules, and carried a valise on their saddle; and in such shabby guise, they persisted in making their entry in the suite of their royal mistress both at St. Jean and Bayonne.¹

The distance from the frontier to the town of St. Jean de Luz was three leagues. Elizabeth on her entry into the St. Jean proceeded straight to her lodging, which adjoined that of the king. On the threshold stood madame Marguerite her sister, attended by madame de Curton, her preceptress, by the countesses de Charny and de Sommerive, and by eight maids of honour. The queen tenderly embraced her sister, who led her majesty to her apartment, where she was permitted to take the repose which the delicate condition of her health required. Queen Catherine in about the space of an hour entered Elizabeth's chamber, to invite her to sup publicly with his majesty. The queen, however, who was wearied with ceremony, excused herself, and requested to take her repast alone with her sister Marguerite. The princesses were, therefore, waited upon at supper by Elizabeth's Spanish maidens, two of whom bore the title of "carvers to her majesty." At the period of Elizabeth's marriage, Marguerite had only completed her sixth year; and, doubtless, the queen now looked with curiosity and interest on the

¹ Godefroy, *Grand Cérém. de France*, t. II. p. 764.

extreme loveliness of feature, and the precocious wit which already distinguished her sister, whose union with Don Carlos she had been so entreated to promote. When the meal was over, Elizabeth visited king Charles, and remained until past ten o'clock. "The royal party spent the evening together," says the chronicler, "in pleasant and intimate discourse, and in joyous merriment. The king and queen afterward conducted my said lady, the Catholic queen, to her apartment, attended by such a company as it would be impossible to enumerate."¹

The duke of Alba and the condesa de Urueña were lodged sumptuously and overwhelmed with favours from the court. The morning after the arrival of Elizabeth at St. Jean, the duke, and Don Juan Manrique, wrote a joint despatch to Philip, detailing the reception given to his consort. The king was then sojourning in Toledo, making preparation for the enshrinement of the body of St. Eugenio, which had been so liberally presented by his good brother and ally of France. "Mi Señor," wrote Alba and Don Juan,² "we have not despatched missives before to your majesty, as we had nothing of consequence to impart; and, therefore, we waited until her majesty should have joined the queen-mother and her brother. Yesterday her majesty quitted Irun about noon, and advanced to the bank of the river, where

¹ Bibl. Imp. MSS. de Colbert, vol. cXL. fo. 462.—Ined.

² Archives de Simancas, K. 1393, A. No. 13.—Ined.

her brother waited, and also the queen-mother. Her majesty stepped upon a barge which had been moored across the river and boarded over, and thus she crossed from our Spanish frontier, and was received with demonstrations of great love. She then mounted a palfrey, very richly caparisoned, and arrived in this place, where all the court alighted at the abode prepared for the queen our mistress. Madame Marguerite her sister, awaited her majesty at the door of the house, standing in the street. The queen-mother, pressed her majesty to take the right, which however, the latter declined, blushing very much at the honour proffered. Her majesty afterwards supped with her brother. To-day the king and queen are gone before to Bayonne, in order that her majesty may have all the honour of the reception, which is so arranged as when a king of France makes there his first entry. Last night very late, the king sent me a message to wit 'that he and his mother intended to depart early this morning for Bayonne; and that the nobles of Spain might hold the same rank in the procession of her majesty's entry, as they would at home.' All the grandees who have accompanied her majesty perform their duties well. They are all much caressed by the French, who show themselves always ready to give them precedence and honour."

King Charles and his mother quitted Bayonne on the 16th of June, soon after eight in the morning. The queen ordered the cardinal de Bourbon to remain behind to escort her Catholic majesty into

Bayonne, with the duke d'Anjou, and madame Marguerite. The cardinal, however, who had attained some age, and was very indolently inclined, felt not disposed to make so toilsome a progress of many hours, under a burning sun. He, therefore, prayed Catherine, "that this honour might be conferred on the young prince of Navarre his nephew." Catherine referred the matter to her daughter. Elizabeth, probably remembering her husband's prohibition against any intercourse with the Calvinist chieftains and their allies, and especially with the queen of Navarre, replied, "that she prayed the cardinal de Bourbon to escort her into Bayonne." The prelate, therefore, arrayed himself in his pontifical vestments, and mounted his mule, prepared to undergo the stifling heat with as much resignation as might be. Elizabeth quitted St. Jean de Luz about two in the afternoon. She travelled in her coach till within two miles of Bayonne, accompanied by Marguerite de Valois, the duke d'Anjou, and the grandmaster of her household, Don Juan Manrique. The queen alighted at a lone house by the roadside, and mounted a palfrey very magnificently housed with the same trappings as when she made her entry into Toledo. Here the principal lords of her court formed into procession; the rest of the suite "having gone forwards to Bayonne. She was accompanied by the dukes de Alba, Osuna and Naxara; by Don Juan Man-

¹ Bibl. Imp. MSS. de Colbert, vol. 140. fol. 154. Réception faite à la Royné Catholique sur la frontière de France.—Ined.

rique; by eight principal ladies of her household, and by as many French ladies, belonging to the household of Catherine. Then followed thirty-five Spanish ladies escorted by a cavalier, their countryman. "All these were mounted on mules, which did not at all accord with the magnificent ideas of the French;" observes the narrator of the pageant.¹ Elizabeth rode between the duke d'Anjou, and the cardinal de Bourbon. The princess Marguerite radiant in beauty followed, escorted by the duke de Montpensier. The *cóndesa* de Urueña rode next in great state, reclining in a litter, having on her right the duke de Alba, and on the left her son, the duke de Osuna. Don Juan Manrique, the duke de Naxara, and the *marquesa* de Cenete followed. About a mile from Bayonne, the country it is stated presented the spectacle of an unbroken mass of people, who loudly cheered Elizabeth as she passed. Meantime, a grand procession was slowly emerging from the gates of Bayonne to greet the queen of Spain. First marched the governor of Bayonne, accompanied by the constable of France, Montmorency, and the lord high chamberlain, the duke de Longueville. Then came, two and two, the knights of St. Michael, wearing their collars and robes. Next walked all the nobles assembled at Bayonne, in order of precedence. A hundred gentlemen-at-arms, bearing their battle axes, and

¹ Réception faite à la royne d'Espagne—Bibl. Imp. MSS. de Colbert, vol. cXL. fol. 474.—Ined.

walking bareheaded, followed; and the procession was closed by two battalions of Swiss guards.

At the gate of the town appeared a full length portrait, in transparency of the queen Doña Isabel placed between the armorial bearings of France and Spain. The streets were hung, from the gate to the cathedral, with arras displaying heraldic devices and mottoes. Elizabeth on her entry into the town was received under a canopy of crimson velvet, borne by four principal citizens. The municipality harangued her majesty, and presented her with the keys of the town upon a violet velvet cushion. Elizabeth responded in a few words spoken in the French language. When these ceremonies were over, it had become nearly dark. Suddenly, however, the town of Bayonne burst forth with brilliant illuminations. Every house, church, and palace glowed with innumerable lights; and torches were kindled as if by magic, by every member of the cortège. The queen was then escorted to the cathedral, where she was received by cardinal Strozzi, arrayed in full canonicals, and wearing his mitre. Behind him stood the cardinal de Guise, the bishop of Bayonne, and other prelates, including the three Spanish bishops in Elizabeth's suite. The choristers from the chapel of the Louvre, wearing dalmatics, and carrying censers, advanced to meet the queen singing *Te Deum Laudamus*. The dean of the chapel royal, presented the queen with holy-water. Elizabeth advanced up the choir to the altar, where she took her seat in a

chair of state placed on the right of the officiating cardinal. The service lasted an hour, her majesty being greeted, says the chronicler, "*avec une musique Romanesque.*" The cortège then proceeded to the episcopal palace, where Elizabeth was received by king Charles and his court with great honour and rejoicing. Supper then followed—a state ceremonial lasting several hours, and which concluded the fatigues of the day. The queen's Spanish ladies of honour, when they retired after supper from the royal abode, were each escorted to their apartments by a knight of St. Michael, and by ten torch bearers.¹

The following day, Saturday, June 17th, Elizabeth felt so fatigued by the pageants in which she had been the principal actor, that she remained in her own apartments, admitting only to her presence members of her family, and her chief ladies in waiting. The heat of the weather continued intense, while the confusion in Bayonne became so overwhelming—multitudes not being able to find food or shelter, that representations were made to Catherine requesting her to find remedy for this disorder, as fears were entertained that famine and pestilence must ensue. An edict was therefore promulgated, commanding that the sick, aged, and infirm should retire from the town, and seek shelter in certain villages specified, at a distance from Bayonne.² During the afternoon of this day, the king presented his sister

¹ Godefroy, *Grand Cérém. de France*, t. II. p. 763.

² *Bibl. Imp. MSS. de Colbert*, vol. CXL. fol. 454.—Ined.

with another palfrey, having housings of scarlet, jewelled, and embroidered with pearls. On the same afternoon an envoy arrived at Bayonne from the duke of Savoy, bringing the king a present of four fine chargers with saddles complete—which valuable gift was observed to be highly gratifying to his majesty, who caused the horses to be exercised in the presence of the court.¹

Early on the following morning, which was Sunday, June 18th, the duke of Alba demanded audience of their majesties to deliver letters from Philip II. Afterwards king Charles went in state to escort his sister to hear high mass, which was performed by the cardinal de Bourbon. Catherine de Medici proceeded to the church separately, attended by her own household, and took her place on the left of the officiating prelate, having opposite to her king Charles and Elizabeth. Queen Catherine's maids-of-honour, were attired upon this occasion, in a costume of black velvet, ornamented with silver fringe and embroidery.* After mass, Charles performed again the ceremony of touching for the Evil: but upon this occasion, the king's miraculous power was exercised only in favour of Spanish subjects. Crowds of *los lamperones* from the Pyrenean fastnesses, mustered to avail themselves of the healing gifts* supposed to be vested in the descendant of St. Louis. The royal party, after retiring from the cathedral, spent the remainder of the day in privacy.

¹ Bibl. Imp. MSS. de Colbert, vol. cxi. fol. 454.—Ined.

The duke of Alba, employed part of this interval in writing a despatch to his royal master, in which he expresses grievous disapprobation at the deportment, and the political inclinations of the court of France. The queen-mother, he stated, had vaguely expressed her desire to employ every arm, civil and ecclesiastical, to check the growth of heresy ; and to compel a reconciliation between the Houses of Châtillon, and Guise. At this period, neither Alba, nor Don Juan Manrique, had yet holden private conference with Catherine, on the religious questions of the day. Amongst the duke's most favoured companions, however, were the marshals de Montluc, and de Tavannes, and the count de Retz, whose well-known Spanish partialities afterwards rendered him an object of distrust to king Charles. With intense solicitude the proceedings of the court were watched by the Huguenot nobles in the *suite* of the young Henri de Navarre ; and vigilantly they strove to detect the secret of the sinister designs attributed to the cabinets of the two countries, and to mature which they had met at Bayonne. The rebellion in the Low Countries, they knew had roused the fears, and awakened vindictive resentment in the bosom of the king of Spain, and his ministers ; while the menacing attitude of the Protestant party in France, and the hostile influence of Elizabeth of England, had combined to inspire conviction in the minds of the leading statesmen of both countries, that a second civil conflict impended. Catherine, whose object it

was to reign in tranquillity, and who to attain that boon, would as far as regarded her own inclinations, with equal good-will have signed a permanent peace with Condé, as with her son-in-law, did all in her power to heighten the ominous forebodings of the Calvinists of France. "The arrival of the queen, our mistress, to visit this king and queen, has been a cause of notable confusion to the heretic faction of this realm," wrote Don Francisco de Alava to Philip II.¹ Catherine, nevertheless, now recoiled from pledging herself to fulfil the political projects which she had proposed with such show of sincerity and determination to the Spanish cabinet. The stern admonitions of the duke of Alba were listened to with indifference by a princess, whose policy was decided by events present and palpable; and whose selfish interests and projects always triumphed over any feelings of mere personal or religious antagonism, which once she might have harboured.

After a season of laborious importunity, Catherine had at last procured her daughter's presence at Bayonne; though this concession she owed to the expectation which her son-in-law avowed, that some agreement would be made between the two courts for the suppression of heresy. The queen, however—believing that the pacification of France for some time to come, was insured by the dread inspired that she had concluded a religious compact with the

¹ MS. Archives de Simancas, B. 19, p. 33—Bayona à 28 de Junio. —Ined.

king of Spain, comprehensive and unrelenting—wished that the subject for conference with Philip's ministers, might now, by her dexterous diplomacy, be diverted from its original object—the annihilation of heresy—and brought alone to bear upon the proposal which had been cursorily mentioned as possibly the pledge and seal of the new alliance—the future union of Don Carlos with Marguerite de Valois. Nothing did Catherine so cordially abhor, as to find herself fettered by a state treaty with a foreign power. She wished to be at liberty one day to proclaim the queen of Navarre, Condé, and the princes of Chatillon, her dearest allies ; on the next, if better suited to her policy to cause their proscription by the Parliaments of the realm. She had rightly augured, however, that Philip, but for some potent incentive, such as that she had offered him, would never have permitted his consort to journey to the frontier ; but the queen trusted to her matchless powers of dissimulation to bring the interview to an amicable termination, while steadily resolving to pledge herself to nothing. The deportment of Elizabeth, however, caused her mother many anxious surmises ; as on political questions, the queen of Spain preserved invincible reserve. It was understood by the French cabinet, that although Philip had granted plenary powers to conclude a compact to Alba, yet, that the queen, by her husband's command, was to be consulted, and her advice implicitly followed. All conferences, more-

over, Philip had decreed were to be holden in the presence of the queen his consort.

Meantime, a grand tilt at the ring served to veil these anxieties, and to inaugurate the fourth day of Elizabeth's visit to her kindred. The prize to be contended for was a superb table-diamond, valued at six hundred ducats, and given by her Catholic majesty. The umpires of the lists were the duke de Montpensier, and the prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, both members of the royal line of Valois. The combatants were divided into six bands; each band being led by a chief. The first band, led by the king, and by his brother the duke d'Anjou, consisted of twelve noble cavaliers, arrayed some *à l'Egyptienne*, others in Morisco, Spanish, and Gallic costumes. The second band was headed by the Prince Dauphin of Auvergne, son of the duke de Montpensier. These six cavaliers attired themselves in habits of cloth of silver *à l'Amazonne*, relieved by bands of pale blue velvet. The third band was led by the duke de Guise; the cavaliers were clad in habits of cloth of gold *à la Suisse*. They wore helmets, and carried in their left hand a brazen vessel, from which flames of fire issued in fantastic forms. The duke de Longueville, followed; his cavaliers appeared wearing habits of cloth of gold, to which were attached wings of silver tissue, in imitation of butterflies. They wore morions and brandished lances; while their faces were concealed by masks of gilded leather. The

gallant duke de Nemours, and his troop, next entered the lists. His cavaliers were very sumptuously dressed in habits of cloth of silver, embroidered with pearls and emeralds, and they rode white horses, richly caparisoned. The queens and madame Marguerite, placed themselves in a pavilion to witness the games. Before the lists opened, the duke de Nemours, despatched a dwarf arrayed in a tabard, preceded by a trumpeter, to carry a challenge to combat to the queen of Spain. Elizabeth graciously received the cartel; and drawing her glove from her hand, she sent it to the duke in pledge of mortal combat.

The king tilted four times at the ring, touching it only slightly. The duke d'Anjou, thrust his lance through once. The victor was at length declared to be M. de la Chastre, a gentleman of his majesty's band, who thrust his spear through the ring on three consecutive trials of skill. The umpires, therefore, proclaiming that the precious gem, belonged, of right, to M. de la Chastre, Elizabeth commanded the condesa de Urueña, to deliver it to him with due form and ceremony. M. de la Chastre, received the prize, making low obeisance to their majesties. He then approached the balcony where Elizabeth sat, and kneeling, presented the diamond to the beautiful Doña Magdalena Giron, daughter of the condesa. Doña Magdalena received the jewel with gracious smiles, and gave her fair hand to the gallant knight to kiss in exchange.¹ During the progress of the tiltings,

¹ Bibl. Imp. MSS. de Colbert, vol. cxi. fol. 470, 402, 454.—Ined.

the duke of Alba, stood bareheaded behind Elizabeth's chair, and declined the repeated request made by the queen, that he would be seated.¹

It was on the evening following this fête that Catherine held her first political conference with her daughter. On the evening of the 19th of June, the queen entered Elizabeth's apartment, after the latter had dismissed her ladies. Some short parley of an indifferent nature ensued, when the queen of Spain said, as she had been previously requested to do by Alba, who was growing weary of the queen-mother's procrastinations—"Madame, the king my lord, desired me very particularly to ascertain from you what those important things are, which you wrote to us that you wished to impart, but which you would only confide to his majesty, or to myself. The king feels great anxiety to hear such." Catherine replied with asperity, "that it would now be to no purpose to do so, for she had been informed that his Catholic majesty showed signs of great distrust towards herself and her son; a state of things which must soon result in war. That she would throughout be the greater sufferer from so dire a calamity, as she could not live without the affection of her daughter; or deprived of a constant communion and interchange of letters with her." "I do not know, madame, where you can find trace of this distrust in the deportment of his Catholic majesty—a thing that has never entered into the mind of any servant or minister of

¹ Brantôme—*Dames Illustres*—Vie du duc d'Albe.

the said king," responded Elizabeth. "Such reports, madame, you may be assured are only the inventions of misguided men; or, otherwise, of persons who discourse upon matters, concerning which they know nothing!" "Truly, madame, you are a good Spaniard!" retorted Catherine, tauntingly. "Madame!" replied the young queen, "in so saying you have done well, as you only accuse me of fulfilling my duty: nevertheless, you will find me the same daughter to you as when you sent me into Spain." The conference proceeded in this strain for some time, Catherine being evidently much out of temper. Elizabeth, at length said quietly—"that as the king, her husband, had not commanded her to take active share in the negotiation, she, therefore, referred her majesty to the ambassadors, whom she besought her to confer with." "I assure your majesty," wrote Alba to his royal master, "that nothing can surpass the great prudence and dignity, with which the queen, our mistress, conducts herself. She displays the greatest sense of what she owes to your majesty, without failing in the respect due to her mother, the Christian queen."² During the afternoon of Tuesday the 21st, therefore, Catherine paid her daughter another secret visit, having first sent to the duke de Alba to hold himself in readiness to confer with her. Alba, when he entered the apartment, found the two queens seated

¹ MS. Archives de Simancas, K. 1393, B. 197 p. 41. Carta del Duque de Alba, y Don Juan Manrique al Rey—Bayona, 21 Junio, 1565.—Ined.

² Ibid.

together on a couch. Catherine commanded the duke to take a seat, which he accepted after first asking the permission of the queen of Spain: she then commenced the discourse by expressing her joy and gratitude at having been permitted to embrace her daughter. She assured Alba of her earnest desire to combine with his Catholic majesty to procure the peace of Christendom, and the dominion of the Romish Faith throughout the realms of her son. Alba made a reply in general terms, stating the good will and affection which the Catholic king bore towards the royal family of France. "I will now, with your good pleasure, Monseigneur, begin to confer with you on matters respecting religion," said the astute Catherine. She then requested the duke to counsel her what course, in his opinion, it would be most expedient for her to adopt—"I adjure you, monseigneur, answer me frankly and fully, as if your master, the Catholic king, put the same demand to you." "I perceived," writes Alba, "that the queen-mother was very fearful lest I should suggest to her that the only way was for the Christian king to take up arms; and to combat this, she was herself well armed with reasons and objections." "Madame," responded the wily diplomatist, "I need not assure your majesty, that the king my master is well-informed of the deplorable state in which affairs now are in your France, and that a remedy must speedily be applied. Nevertheless, we hold that your majesty, who so eminently surpasses us in wisdom, must

surely have devised some expedient which I supplicate that I may be permitted to learn, to impart it to my royal master." Catherine equally subtle and careful of compromising herself made only, in reply to this, some remark on her authority over the realm, saying, "that whatever she commanded would be observed." "Madame, if it be true that you possess this authority, why then do you not chastise those rebellious subjects who presume to defy our God and your majesty?" asked Elizabeth.¹ "The best way, *ma fille*, of healing the differences everywhere prevailing, and also to place the affairs of religion on a stable foundation, is by means of alliances between our royal houses of France and Spain. For this cause, it will be wise and beneficial to marry your sister, madame Marguerite, to the prince Don Carlos, and madame la Princesse to mon fils D'Anjou." Elizabeth paused a few minutes: she then replied, "that she knew well his Catholic majesty honoured her with such affection, that, personally, he would have more satisfaction in contracting the alliances suggested by her majesty than any other. As for the negotiation² then pending for the marriage of the prince Don Carlos, it was apparent from the alliance before concluded with their Christian majesties, and that which the king was again desirous of contracting with the

¹ Archives de Simancas, B. 19, p. 32, K. 1393. Carta del duque de Alba y Don Juan Manrique al rey. Bayona, 21 Junio, 1565.—Ined.

² The negotiation between Philip and the emperor Maximilian for the betrothal of Don Carlos with the archduchess Anne.

realm of France, that his majesty proceeded with it very much against his inclination; as he had no present desire to marry the prince, his son." This reply was much lauded by Alba to the king. "Afterwards," writes he, "her majesty, the queen-mother, was pleased to speak to me in the same terms respecting these alliances; and, in my reply, I followed in the wise path which her majesty, our mistress, had taken."

During her short sojourn in France, Elizabeth possessed discernment enough to perceive that nothing but calamity was likely to result from the union of her sister with Don Carlos. The condescension which the beautiful Marguerite vouchsafed towards D'Antragues and M. de Charny, two of the handsomest officers of king Charles's body-guard, overwhelmed the Spaniards with astonishment, and certainly inspired them with no wish to see her wedded to their prince.

After quitting her daughter's apartment, Catherine went to attend vespers; "but," writes Alba, "throughout the prayers, her majesty whispered behind the curtains of her gallery with the constable de Montmorency." Montmorency and the queen afterwards conferred long together; and the same evening, the constable, accompanied by the cardinal² de Bourbon, visited the duke of Alba, and resumed the conversation before commenced in Elizabeth's apartment.¹

¹ MS. Simancas—Carta del duque de Alba al rey, B. 19, No. 17.—Ined.

Catherine never found herself in a more embarrassing position ; the ill-concealed displeasure manifested by Alba, Manrique, and Alava, that after all her professions, nothing was in progress ; and that they had not even been requested to confer with the council, after a sojourn in Bayonne of nearly a week, was perceptible enough. As for vague professions of orthodoxy, friendship for the Catholic king, and a determination to put down heresy, Catherine had been lavish enough. "I see clearly, and affirm to your majesty, that never was princess in greater embarrassment than this queen," wrote Don Francisco.¹ "One person advises her majesty to act this way, another quite the contrary ; and she herself dares not decide, nor even evince a preference. She feels this weakness ; though with her usual loud laugh she shows outward control, as she indeed ought, having the pleasure of being with the queen our mistress, and possessing the hope of seeing your majesty at no very distant period. The principal Roman Catholics of this court," continued the ambassador, "show much zeal ; but, as I before wrote to your majesty, they are men of more words than deeds. A single sharp word from the mouth of this king or queen, is sufficient to daunt them all, excepting the marshals de Damville and de Montluc."

On the evening of the 21st, there was a masque and a mimic combat, in the lofty hall which Catherine had

¹ MS. de Simancas—Don. F. de Alava al rey, B. 19, K. 1393, p. 186. Bayona, 24 Junio, 1565.—Ined.

caused to be constructed. The king, the prince of Navarre, and the dukes de Longueville and de Nevers, were the combatants. The king and his troop assailed a castle, supposed to be defended by a giant who held captive several of Catherine's most beautiful maidens. In the castle was an enchanted chamber, where these damsels were confined, the entrance to which was defended by a revolving wheel, guarded by six hideous demons. The giant triumphantly repulsed several assaults, made by French and Spanish cavaliers, breaking their spears, and hurling his assailants into the mimic moat, which surrounded his fort. The king and his troop, however, victoriously overcame every obstacle—he killed the giant, destroyed the enchanted wheel, and delivered the imprisoned damsels, whom he conducted as trophies of his prowess to the feet of the queen of Spain, who granted liberty and compensation to the afflicted fair ones.¹

The following day, Wednesday, the 22nd day of June, Elizabeth was entertained by an allegorical pageant of elaborate description, it being a combat to decide the respective claims to supremacy of the Goddess of Virtue, and the God of Love. The construction of this pageant was the most graceful, and ingenious of the gorgeous fêtes devised for the entertainment of the Catholic queen. The representation commenced at mid-day thus: a herald presented himself at the abode of king Charles, and was intro-

¹ Bibl. Imp. MSS. de Colbert, 140—Réception de la royne d'Espagne, et des fêtes de Bayonne.—Ined.

duced by the constable de Montmorency into the presence of the king. The herald then related, that during the course of his travels in foreign lands, he had met with a party of English, Dutch, and Flemish knights, who were at variance between themselves, some supporting the cause and pre-eminence of Virtue, others maintaining the supremacy of the God of Love. Perceiving that they could not agree, his advice to the knights, was, that they should refer their quarrel to the arbitration of the king of France ; a thing they had accordingly done, sending deputies to lay the cause before his majesty. The envoys of the knights were then introduced, and pleaded the matter in dispute. When the harangue concluded, Charles pronounced that the controversy could only be decided by arms ; a combat which his majesty invited all present to witness. The lists were then opened, the queens taking their station in a gallery hung with velvet. The first part of the pageant commenced by the entry of Virtue, to plead her own cause, seated on a triumphant car constructed in the shape of a rock, and attended by six nymphs. The goddess was attired in a blue robe, and bore a lighted torch. The car made the circuit of the arena, and stopped before the queen of Spain. The goddess then recited some verses in praise of the godly attribute, Virtue, and afterwards presented a massive gold chain to Elizabeth ; and bestowed a similar gift on five Spanish ladies including the condesa de Urueña, and her beautiful daughter Doña

Magdalena. The Goddess of Virtue then retired; and the chariot of the God of Love, drawn by four piebald horses entered the lists. The car whirled twice swiftly round, and, also stopped before the platform upon which Elizabeth sat. The God of Love then sang verses set to music, celebrating the joys and the triumphs of love; and finally, ended by presenting a gold chain, the guerdon of love, to Marguerite de Valois, which was deemed by the Spaniards to be a singular coincidence, considering the avowed inclinations of the princess. The cars having both retired, the contest commenced: king Charles maintained the cause of Virtue, and the duke d'Anjou that of Love. The joustings were brilliant and rapid, the cavaliers demeaning themselves in most gallant style. The combatants first engaged hand to hand, the king and his brother breaking a lance together. Then a party of four attacked four opposite combatants, until the *mêlée* became general, to the admiration of the beholders. This skirmishing continued for half-an-hour; when, suddenly, the combatants retired in line, and the king and his brother riding forwards, cordially embraced each other; which action was taken to expound the meaning of the allegory, to wit: "that Virtue and Love being brother and sister, the triumph of each was the glory of the other." A burst of military music, hautboys, and trumpets, celebrated this finale; amidst which the king retired, and placed himself by the side of the queen of Spain, to wit-

ness a display of fireworks with which the festivity terminated.¹

The day following, Thursday, June 23rd, the king was invested with the order of the Golden Fleece; and afterwards touched for the Evil, being the third time since the arrival of the court at Bayonne, that he had exercised the regal right of healing. About five o'clock in the afternoon, the duke of Alba quitted his lodging arrayed in the collar and mantle of the Order. He was preceded by two ushers, by Toison, Spanish king at arms, and by the Bishops of Pamplona, and Orihuela, one of these prelates being Chancellor of the Order. A crowd of nobles attended the duke to the great hall of the episcopal palace, where he was received by the duke de Guise, grand-master of the household, and by the duke de Longueville, hereditary lord high chamberlain, who conducted Alba into the presence of king Charles. Around the king were assembled the lords of the court; and the ceremony was witnessed by the two queens from a gallery. The oath was administered by one of the prelates; afterwards, the duke invested the king with the collar, and helped to array his majesty in the robes of the Order, which were of crimson velvet sumptuously bordered with gold, and presented by the Catholic king. When the investiture was complete, the duke accompanied king Charles to hear vespers in the cathedral.²

¹ Bibl. Imp., Colb., 140, fo. 474.—Ined.

² MS. Bibl. Imp., Colbert, 140, f. 474.—Ined.

Alba afterwards announced to the king, that the mission of the Spanish court to the frontier was accomplished ; and that king Philip very anxiously expected the return of his consort. This announcement was received with ill-dissembled uneasiness by Catherine ; for by the tone of this sudden intimation, she perceived how profoundly her inconsistency of conduct was resented by Alba and his royal master. The queen dreaded also, lest the secret counter-negotiations, which she had been for some time carrying on at the court of Vienna, might have been discovered by Chantonnay, and transmitted to the Spanish cabinet. Catherine had an intense dread of the subtle Flemish diplomatist, having keenly suffered from the malice of his despatches when Chantonnay held the office of Spanish ambassador at the court of Paris. Charles protested that he could not yet part from his dear sister, the Catholic queen ; observing, that there were still several *fêtes* in reserve for her majesty, which it would afflict him deeply, and also the actors in the pastimes, did she not stay to witness. Catherine, also, so earnestly pressed her daughter to remain, that the young queen signified to the duke of Alba her intention to prolong her visit until the second day of July, adding, “ that she would be responsible for the delay to the king her lord.” A courier, meantime, one Don Antonio de Almeyda, arrived from Toledo, bringing letters from Philip, which touched on the marriages so ardently wished by Catherine ; but the king intimated as before, that, if accomplished, they

must result from, and be the seal of the righteous course about to be adopted by the French cabinet in religious affairs.

On the evening of the 23rd, Catherine again sent to desire the duke of Alba to meet her in the saloon of the queen her daughter, for she had somewhat to impart. Alba found the two queens alone, walking in a long gallery—probably that which formed the communication between Elizabeth's abode, and the episcopal palace where Charles resided. Catherine opened this second parley by gloomily observing, "that if it were indeed wished to dissipate the suspicions and jealousies which this interview had occasioned to all parties in the realm, and to foreign powers, its result must be obvious by the negotiation of the two marriages before proposed, which she maintained, after due reflection, to be both suitable, necessary, and, moreover, imperative as the first step in the compact to be concluded." Catherine then requested the duke of Alba, and the queen her daughter, to write forthwith to king Philip and to despatch a courier into Spain, to bring back his majesty's reply. Elizabeth responded, "that such a measure would answer no purpose; as her majesty could not possibly receive a reply during the sojourn at Bayonne. It would be necessary for his Catholic majesty to advise on such a question; especially as it related to others, whose pleasure must be ascertained. Should the king be pleased to enter hereafter upon the negotiation, the advantages and disadvantages of such matrimonial engagement would then be made plainly

apparent on both sides.” “Her majesty made no remark to me on the subject,” writes Alba to his royal master, “but immediately turned the discourse on matters of religion.” Alba and Elizabeth now pressed Catherine to dismiss the chancellor Michel de l’Hopital, as the first step in the holy and righteous cause in which her Christian majesty had declared her resolve to embark. “Madame,” said the young queen, “you are well aware that, during the reign of my royal father, and before I went into Spain, that this was always my opinion of the said chancellor. Now I am persuaded, that as long as he (the chancellor) is maintained in the post where he is, your good subjects will alone have cause for dread and fear; while the bad will find shelter and countenance. I pray you send him to his own house, if only for some days, and you will see the truth of my words, and how favourably your affairs will progress.” Catherine retorted, “that in no respect would she admit the truth of her daughter’s observations.” The Duke of Alba then said, “that her Catholic majesty had only pressed her thus hardly, because the king his master wished to ascertain positively from herself, and from the king her son, whether it was their present intention to put down heresy or not, as in either case, his Catholic majesty would know how to govern his conduct.” The queen haughtily replied, “that the council should give the reply, demanded by her son the Catholic king.” Elizabeth next observed, “Madame, why do

¹ MS. de Simancas—Carta del duque de Alba y Don Juan Manrique al Rey Catolico, K. 1393, B. 19, No. 17. 29 Junio, 1565.—Ined.

you not command to be generally observed throughout this realm, the decrees of the Council (of Trent) and take your stand upon these?" "This was the second time," writes Alba, "that her majesty pressed her mother on this subject in my presence. I assure your majesty that she has led this negotiation with a prudence, a discretion, and a courage, which, although great was our previous opinion of her majesty's capacity, has completely astounded us." Catherine replied to her daughter's question by sarcastically observing, "that it was only very recently that his Catholic majesty could himself be induced to accept the decrees of the said council." "Madame, you mistake—the king my lord, has fully and heartily conformed himself and his realm to these decrees," replied Elizabeth. "Ma fille," rejoined the queen-mother, "this realm, you must understand, differs from that of Spain. Before accepting the decrees of so important a council, it is here necessary to summon a national synod of prelates, besides calling other holy and learned men to expound a multitude of points left undetermined by the said general council."¹ Catherine withdrew, after having administered this last bitter observation, promising that Alba and other of the Spanish ministers should debate in the presence of the king her son, and the chief members of the French council of state.

Throughout these interviews it is worthy to be

¹ MS. de Simancas—Carta del duque de Alba, &c.. al Rey Catolico. K. 1393, B. 19, No. 17.—Ined.

observed that Catherine shrank from the adoption of the extreme measures sought to be imposed upon her by the Spanish cabinet. It is, however, true that she had herself proposed the very edicts they were striving to promulgate; though the queen, with her habitual insincerity of purpose, now essayed to evade all positive engagements. In a minute of the conferences sent to the king of Spain by Don Francisco de Alava, he says, "that the departure of the queen had been delayed until the second day of July, in consequence of the importunity of the king who greatly desires us to witness the end of his fêtes." "Mi Señor, since the arrival of Don Antonio de Almeyda, the Christian queen has refused to treat, or to speak of other matters excepting of the said marriages—to wit—that of the prince our lord, to madame Marguerite, and that of the princess of Portugal with the duke d'Anjou. This latter alliance especially, the queen our mistress ridicules, and pronounces to be one of impossible completion, to the great contentment of the duque de Alba, and Don Juan Manrique."¹ The ambassador continues,² "after the last conference was over, the queen our mistress privately informed us that her mother had again requested her to write to your majesty concerning these alliances; but not to insist upon that of the duke d'Anjou with La Princesa, though to write

¹ MS. de Simancas, K. 1393, A. No. 8—Al Rey Catolico. Bayonne, 28, 29 Junio.—Ined.

² Ibid, p. 4.

in general terms upon both." At this period, the politic Catherine was also meditating upon a marriage between "her son d'Anjou," and Elizabeth, queen of England; and this gives the clue to her request to her daughter, as some political contingency might for the moment have then fendered Elizabeth's alliance preferable to that of Doña Juana. In another despatch, Don Francisco, expatiates approvingly on the example set to the French court, so ribald in morals, by the demeanour of the queen of Spain, who, he stated, "proceeded every morning on foot, attended by the *camaréra-mayor*, and Don Juan Manrique, to hear matins in the cathedral, which was close to her abode." ¹

On the 24th day of June, Elizabeth was entertained by a fête champêtre, in a beautiful meadow, close to Bayonne. The royal family alone received invitations to join their majesties. The collation was spread under an ancient oak tree, the branches of which were adorned as a bower. From the root of the tree, issued a beautiful fountain, which it cost king Charles the sum of four hundred pounds sterling to construct. On Thursday, the 25th, her Catholic majesty witnessed a grand pastoral ballet, given by Catherine de Medici, on the islet close to the bridge at Bayonne. The masque was so excellently performed, and the ability of the French ladies and cavaliers who danced in the ballet, was deemed so surprising by the Spanish court, that the festivity

¹ Archives de Simancas, K. 1393, A. No. 8.—Ined.

lasted until midnight.¹ The following day, the entertainment provided was a naval combat on the river. On the 27th, another gorgeous pageant took place; this was a tourney, in which all the French and Spanish cavaliers combated. The joust lasted nearly the whole day, the queen of Spain bestowing the prizes.² At the conclusion of this fête, the French and Spanish courts were sated and worn out with pleasure; and during the following day, the only amusement was dancing after supper, "in which pastime, Monsieur de Brissac, and M. de St. Remy, bore away the palm, to the great chagrin of the Spanish cavaliers." On Sunday the 28th, their majesties attended high mass; and in the evening, a comedy was performed, in which was represented an eclipse of the sun.

When the sounds of merriment were hushed in the town of Bayonne, the apartments of the queen of Spain became the scene of a political conclave, on a grand scale, as Catherine had promised Alba. The individuals present were Charles IX., Catherine de Medici, Elizabeth, queen of Spain, the duke d'Anjou, the duke of Alba, Don Juan Manrique, Alava, the duke de Montpensier, the constable de Montmorency, the marshal de Bourdillon, and the cardinals de Bourbon, de Guise, and de Lorraine.³ At this conference,

¹ Bibl. Imp. MSS. de Colbert, vol. cxi.

² Voyage de Charles IX., par Abel Jouan—D'Aubais, Pièces Fugitives pour servir à l'Histoire de France.

³ MS. Simancas—Carta del duque de Alba y Don Juan Manrique al rey, K. 1395, B. 19. San Sebastian, 5 de Julio, 1565.—Ined.

Catherine formally tendered to Alba, to convey to his royal master, an amplified note of the project for the proscription of heresy, and its upholders from the realm of France, in accordance with that presented before the journey of the Spanish court to the frontiers. There cannot remain a doubt that the most violent measures were then discussed for the destruction, or the enforced recantation of the most eminent personages of the Protestant leagues in France, and the Low Countries; and for the more absolute development of the powers possessed by the tribunal of Les Chambres Ardentes in France, and of the Inquisition in the Netherlands and Spain; the latter country, having been, with few exceptions, hitherto free from the brand of heresy. "I send executioners to destroy heretics, root and branch, and not ecclesiastics to convert them!" had been the exclamation of Philip II., when urged by Eboli, and some of the more moderate members of the cabinet to try lenient measures towards the "apostates of the Netherlands." The Spanish cabinet, therefore, was disposed to accept of no dubious measure, for the repression of heresy; and Alba gave counsel in accordance to the king and his mother; and vehemently urged the latter to maintain and adhere to the wise propositions which she had submitted to his Catholic majesty. Charles, however, was placed in different circumstances to Philip II. The realm of Spain, was loyal and orthodox; and heresy had manifested itself only in a distant province of Philip's empire. In

France, on the contrary, princes of the blood-royal had forsaken the religion of Rome ; the very capital itself was infected with heresy ; and in the South, provinces and districts, comprehending more than a fourth part of the realm, declared for the reformed faith. The echo of conflict between Roman Catholic and Protestant resounded in the presence chamber of the sovereign ; while the royal banner was unfurled at the van of both armies. Catherine, however, had recently formed projects for the prompt pacification of France, without the intervention of Spanish arms. Her agents at this period were busied in sounding the inclinations of the Imperial, Papal, and English cabinets, with a view to the recognition of the Calvinists, as a body in the state. It was then stated to be the desire of the queen that the privilege of public worship, according to the reformed ritual, together with other various rights and liabilities should be permanently settled by edict of Parliament. But unhappily, the sincerity of the queen's placable intent was trusted no longer after the interview of Bayonne. The one point above all others deprecated and dreaded by the Huguenots, was the union of the military force of the realms of France and Spain for their overthrow. Such an alliance they felt, humanly speaking, that no faith of theirs could survive ; and that its issue must be the destruction of their creed, and the proscription of the leaders of their party. Rumours, therefore, of the frequent discussions holden between Catherine and Alba produced such excess of

fear and distrust as led to the immediate organization of the enterprise of Meaux—a conspiracy which rendered oblivion and reconciliation impossible between the parties.

An incident of the conferences, meantime, reported by the young Henri de Navarre, placed arms in the hands of the Calvinists of France, even before the courts separated. The prince of Navarre was permitted free access into the apartments of queen Catherine, who admired his gallant bearing, and jocose wit. One day the prince overheard a conversation between Catherine and Alba on religious matters. Catherine appeared to be deprecating some proposition made by the duke, when the prince stated that Alba using figurative parlance, replied, "*Madame, une tête de saumon vaut mieux que cent têtes de grenouilles !*" Alba, moreover, lauded the zeal of Francis II, as manifested by his edicts; and especially by the design which was to have been perfected during the session of the states of Orleans, in 1560, and frustrated by the decease of that most religious monarch. Henry immediately quitted the presence, and having in his possession as he believed, the key to the dreaded conferences, he confided the secret to de Calignon, one of the nobles placed about his person by the queen of Navarre. Calignon immediately despatched a courier with a letter written in cypher to queen Jeanne, who was at Vendôme. The queen of Navarre communicated the intelligence thus received to Condé and Coligny; and they in

their turn to the chieftains below them in command. The panic which was increased by this report in tenfold degree, seems to have been groundless. There exists not a particle of evidence to show that the measures debated at Bayonne, specified any massacre—its place, or period. The interview developed the principles of the League of Peronne, and adapted them to the exigencies of the Roman Catholic cabinets. At Bayonne the principle, that it was good and expedient to extinguish heresy by proscriptions *en masse*, or by the sword, became inoculated into the political code of the era ; and thus far only does it appear that the apprehensions of the reformed party were fulfilled. The assembly at Moulins, which Catherine, however, imprudently summoned immediately after quitting Bayonne, to effect as she stated, the reconciliation between the Houses of Guise and Châtillon, gave apparent probability to the assertion that the details of a massacre of the Protestants had been discussed, and was about to be executed ; a design foiled only, it has been stated, by the military retinue of the princes of Châtillon.

At the conference holden by Charles and Catherine on the 28th of June, in Elizabeth's apartments, it should be remarked that the cardinal de Bourbon, brother of Condé and uncle to the young prince de Navarre assisted ; as did also Montmorency, the uncle of the admiral de Coligny and his brothers. Though both the cardinal, and the constable were zealous upholders of the ancient faith, it seems scarcely

probable that they would be invited to share a conference in which designs were directly discussed, to compass the cruel assassination of princes, their nearest kinsmen. Besides, it would have corresponded little with the habitual policy of the cabinet of Madrid, to confide its schemes to the ear of the nearest relatives of the personages it doomed to destruction. Catherine, however, seems carefully to have refrained from rejecting any propositions made by the Spanish envoys; her most fervent desire was then, to obtain for her daughter Marguerite, alliance with the prince of Spain. She listened deferentially, because it was important for the successful realization of her projects to penetrate, if possible, to the depths of Spanish diplomacy; and she responded with that gracious condescension of manner, which, amid much protestation, left her true sentiments and intentions undeveloped.

The day following this nocturnal conference, Catherine de Medici wrote to Philip II in the following language :—

CATHERINE DE MEDICI, QUEEN OF FRANCE, TO PHILIP II.

“Monsieur mon Fils,

“I cannot thank you with sufficient fervour for the honour and the pleasure which you have conferred upon us by permitting the visit of the queen, my daughter, whom I find in so happy, and flourishing a condition, that the king my son, myself, and all our subjects cannot demonstrate sufficient obligation for the consideration which she receives at your hands. One of the great

results, therefore, of this interview will be, that the friendship which is borne towards your majesty by the king your brother must be greatly augmented. The queen, your consort, will explain more fully to your majesty these our sentiments ; also, she will relate to you the particulars of the conference lately holden in her presence, between the duque de Alba, Don Juan Manrique, the king your brother, and my son d'Orleans ;¹ also, there were present, on this occasion my cousins, the cardinal de Bourbon, and de Guise, the duke de Montpensier, the Constable, and the marshal de Bourdillon. The queen will certify to your majesty the zeal which animates us respecting our religion ; and the ardent desire which we feel to regulate, and to hold from, henceforwards, all things in accordance to the rules of God's service—a thing which we will so earnestly apply ourselves to execute, that your majesty may receive satisfaction, and ourselves the solid good which we mutually desire. The queen my daughter, will confirm, and explain this my statement ; I will not, therefore, weary your majesty with a longer letter, relying upon the promise that the queen has given me, to recount, at length, the discourse which we have holden together, and to promote the friendship, and alliance now happily existing between our two realms ; matters upon which I could not have so fully explained myself to any other personage. Referring your majesty, therefore, to the queen your consort, I kiss your royal hands.

“ Votre bonne mère et sœur,

“ CATHERINE.”²

On Monday 29th, the court prepared to depart

¹ Henri duc d'Anjou, afterwards Henry III., bore at this period, the appellation of duke d'Orleans.

² Archives de Simancas, K. 1393, B. 20, No. 69.—Ined.

for St. Jean de Luz to escort her majesty thither on her return to Spain. Before the departure of Elizabeth from Bayonne, Catherine presented her daughter with several rich robes, furs and jewels, ruffs, fans and perfumes. Elizabeth, also, commanded magnificent gifts to be distributed to the noblemen and ladies of her brother's court, and expressed in very gracious terms, through her grand-master Don Juan Manrique, her thanks for the homage which her presence had everywhere elicited. During the afternoon of Tuesday 30th, the inferior officers, and the baggage of the Spanish court passed the Bidassoa to Irun. At St. Jean de Luz, Elizabeth was solicited by the countess de Tende,¹ to intercede with the queen-mother for the release of one M. de Pompadour, who was in prison at Bordeaux, for the assassination of a counsellor of the Parliament named Chambret. The queen-mother was so incensed at this outrage, that she had caused Pompadour to be sentenced to lose his head, and refused to listen to any intercession for a commutation of the punishment. The cause of Pompadour was warmly espoused by the count de Retz, at whose suggestion madame de Tende petitioned the queen of Spain. Elizabeth when she heard the matter in detail replied, "that she should esteem herself happy to oblige madame de Tende in any matter but this one; for that she feared to anger and annoy the queen her

¹ Clarice Strozzi. Madame de Tende had been one of Elizabeth's companions at St. Germain.

mother, by appealing to her on a subject already decided by her majesty." The countess de Tende and de Retz, however, were not to be so baffled; knowing the anxious desire of Catherine to oblige her daughter in every respect, they persuaded some illustrious personage, whose name is not on record, to mention to the queen, "that, her daughter wished to make a petition to her majesty on behalf of the countess de Tende; but that she dared not, fearing to excite her mother's displeasure." Catherine replied, "that, that thing must be indeed impossible, which she would deny to the suit of the Catholic queen her daughter." This response was reported to Elizabeth; who thereupon, having a sincere affection for madame de Tende, requested from the queen the pardon of Pompadour which Catherine forthwith granted.¹ "See!" exclaims Brantôme, admiringly,² "the virtue and goodness of this great princess so to honour and respect the queen her mother! Alas! that the Christian promise was not realized in regard to herself, that length of days should be the blessing attached to filial reverence!"

The duke of Alba, meantime, being highly discontented at the conduct of Catherine and her ministers, diligently hastened the preparations for the departure of the young queen. Before the duke quitted Bayonne, Catherine sent for him, and after expostulating with him for his discontent, which she

¹ Brantôme. *Dames Illustres—Vie d'Elizabeth de Valois.*

² *Dames Illustres—Vie d'Elizabeth de Valois.*

said she had been informed of, she again solemnly assured him, that it was her firm intention to subdue the heretic faction;¹ but that unlike his royal master, she was obliged to proceed cautiously and by degrees in the face of the opposition of the princes, and the hostile attitude of Elizabeth queen of England, of the queen of Navarre, and of the league in Flanders. "If I do not keep faithfully, and execute righteously all that I have promised to the queen my daughter, as the case and circumstances permit, esteem me no longer a princess whose word is honour!"² said Catherine, during the parting interview. Alba, however, liked deeds, and cared but little for professions: aware of the intense disappointment which his royal master felt, at the failure of his efforts to procure the immediate publication of the proposed edict of proscription, the duke gave himself no trouble to conceal his ill humour. "It is to no purpose that you seek longer to detain her Catholic majesty, madame. All must, from henceforwards, be despatched with celerity, as his majesty can no longer suffer the absence of his consort!" exclaimed the duke, when Catherine hinted that by a longer residence of her daughter at the French court, something more pleasurable to the political sympathy of the king of Spain might be devised. On Wednesday, the 2nd of July, the queen

¹ MS. Archives de Simancas—Carta del duque de Alba al Rey Catolico K. 1395. San Sebastian, 5 de Julio, 1565.—Ined.

² Carta de Don F. de Alava al rey Don Felipe II. MS. Archives de Simancas, B. 19, p. 204, 205.—Ined. Bayona, 8 de Julio, 1565.

of Spain took leave of the court, and prepared to cross the Bidassoa in a barge richly ornamented and provided at the expense of the province of Guipuzcoa. "On the first day of July, her majesty quitted Bayonne accompanied by the king her brother as far as St. Jean de Luz. The queen her mother is to proceed in her company as far as Irun. In proportion to the great love felt for the queen our mistress have been the lamentations for her departure; and I can fearlessly assure your majesty, that the queen has stolen the hearts of all good men in this assembly; more especially has she won the affection of those who have heard her discourse on religious matters, and on the fraternal friendship subsisting between your majesty and this king; for all these almost hold a fast to deplore and deprecate her departure," wrote Don Francisco to the king.¹ The young king shed many tears on bidding farewell to his sister; while Elizabeth also wept bitterly. The stern old constable de Montmorency entering the chamber where the royal family were assembled to spend without witnesses the last hour of Elizabeth's sojourn, perceived the tears which suffused the eyes of the king. "Sire!" exclaimed he, "upon no account ought your majesty to weep! 'Tis a sign of bad omen to see tears in the eyes of kings!"² Elizabeth was handed into the barge by her brother the king, who

¹ Archives de Simancas, K. 1393, A. 28 Junio.—Ined.

² MS. Simancas—Don Francisco de Alava al rey Catolico, B. 19, p. 202. De San Sebastian, 4 de Julio, 1565.—Ined.

embraced her tenderly on taking leave. "The tears and emotion displayed at St. Jean de Luz when her majesty entered the boat to convey her to Irun, demonstrated how tenderly the queen is beloved both by her mother, her brothers and their subjects,"¹ wrote Alava to the king of Spain. Elizabeth was accompanied by her mother queen Catherine, by her sister Marguerite, and the duke d'Anjou; the condesa de Urueña, and the princess de la Roche-sur-Yon, crossed the river in the same barge with the royal party. The Spanish bank of the river was lined with guards; and the governor of Fuenterrabia, the chief deputy Don Pedro de Zuaçola, and the captain general of Guipuzcoa, Don Juan de Acuña waited to receive her majesty. Don Pedro complimented Elizabeth on her safe return, adding, "that Christendom waited in suspense to learn the notable things concerted at Bayonne at that great interview of potentates."² The two queens and madame Marguerite then entered a coach, and amidst great salutings of cannon, they proceeded to the fort of Irun, escorted by a guard of honour.

When the royal party had crossed the river, the duque de Alba, and his suite passed over. Charles took courteous leave of the duke, and then sorrowfully returned to St. Jean, and there consoled himself, while waiting the return of the queen his mother by

¹ MS. Simancas—Don Francisco de Alava al rey Catolico, B. 19, p. 202. De San Sebastian, 4 de Julio, 1565.—Ined.

² Voyage de Charles IX.—Abel Jouan—Aubais, Pièces Fugitives, t. 1.

witnessing the dances and games of the Basque peasantry of the district.¹

The duke of Alba, departed from France, without having succeeded in binding Charles, or Catherine to follow any specific measure for the suppression of heresy. A careful consideration of the inedited despatches of the Spanish envoys and other documents leads to this conclusion. The massacre of St. Bartholomew, though foreshadowed by the nature of the deliberations holden at Bayonne, and the bigoted hatred displayed by the leading statesmen of France and Spain against the "sectarians," was not there discussed in detail, nor yet debated upon as a future, and positive event. Catherine was chagrined at the little eagerness displayed by Philip II. to conclude the matrimonial alliances she advocated; and especially that of Don Carlos, with Marguerite de Valois. Though the queen-mother expressed intense anxiety to conclude intimate political relations with the Spanish cabinet, she did not thereby intend to subject herself to, or to follow the guidings of Philip's policy. Her expressions of warmth and attachment towards the Imperial government at this season are nearly as fervid. The Calvinist faction, though their principles were the source of great tumults in the realm, was yet a potent weapon of menace, when wielded by a hand skilful as that of Catherine de Medici. The emperor and the king of Spain were

¹ Récit du Sieur de la Corbière sur l'Entrevue de Bayonne—Bibl. Imp. MSS. de Colbert, vol. cxi.—Ined.

consequently in some measure forced to conciliate the French Cabinet, on account of the prevalence of heresy in the minor German States and the Low Countries—the latter being provinces lying contiguous to France, and therefore, peculiarly open to aid from the French chieftains, upholders of the Reformation. As long as the Protestants in France offered defiance only to the edicts of the government, and aspired not to control the royal prerogative, Catherine was far from desiring the total extirpation of their faction: for upon the divisions of cabinets, and of parties, she founded her power; as individually, she ruled her nobles by her insight into the weaknesses and vanity of mankind.

Charles addressed the following letter to Philip II. and sent it by the hand of Alba. The ambassador St. Sulpice, who had preceded Elizabeth's *cortège* throughout her journey to Spain, returned in her majesty's suite—only, however, for an interval; as on account of his failing health, he had been superseded in his post of French ambassador at the court of Toledo, which was bestowed on the baron de Fourquevaux.

CHARLES IX., KING OF FRANCE, TO PHILIP II., KING
OF SPAIN.

“Monsieur mon frère,

“I could not suffer the queen Madame ma sœur, to quit my realm, without causing her to be attended by the marquis de St. Sulpice, whom I have directed to remain at your court, until I can despatch thither the sieur de

Fourquevaux, who is a personage very worthy, and competent to succeed to his charge of ambassador. I have commanded the said sieur de St. Sulpice to thank your majesty most heartily on my behalf, as I do by this present letter, for that it has pleased you to associate me among the knights of your Order. I have received this badge under the firm intent to remain all my life united to your majesty in perfect friendship, and fraternal love; all which I have commanded the said ambassador to explain more amply. I, therefore, pray your majesty to credit all the said St. Sulpice may say, as you would place faith in the personal assurances of

“Votre bon frère,

“CHARLES.”¹

Catherine likewise addressed Philip—indeed she seems to have taken especial pleasure in favouring the Catholic king with her wily assurances, and courteous flattery. In her letter, she thanked his majesty “for the honour which he had conferred upon her son; also, that his majesty had been pleased to permit her to see the queen her daughter, thereby demonstrating, Monseigneur, your love and consideration towards this realm of France.”²

Queen Catherine spent one night at Irun, with her daughter, and took her leave the following day about one o'clock. Elizabeth as a mark of respect, wished to accompany her mother back over the river into France; but this Catherine would by no means permit. The adieux between the mother and her daughter

¹ Simancas, K. 1393, B. 20, No. 61.—Ined.

² Lettre de Catherine de Medici à Philippe II. Ibid, 1074.—Ined.

were very mournful, and many tears were shed by both. Queen Catherine gave her daughter numerous parting injunctions to follow the humour of the king her husband in all matters ; and, above all, never to forget, or to slight the interests of her brother's crown. Catherine was then escorted to the French frontier by Don Pedro de Zuaçola, and his archers of the royal guard.

Elizabeth quitted Irun at the same moment, and still accompanied by her brother, she proceeded to St. Sebastian, where she spent the night. During the evening, her majesty went on board a beautiful galley then lying in port, attended by the principal lords and ladies of her court, and sailed some distance on the ocean. The weather was calm, and we are told that the queen greatly enjoyed her marine excursion. The next morning, Friday 5th, Elizabeth journeyed to Hernani, where she dined, and then continued her route to sleep at Tolosa. The following day her majesty continued her journey to Villafranca. On her road, the queen had to pass some celebrated iron-works close to the village of Jarca. Elizabeth having expressed curiosity to Don Domingo Orbea, one of the Guipuzcoan deputies, while at Tolosa to see the process of smelting the metal, Don Domingo, therefore, despatched messengers to *la Herreria de Jarca* to inform the proprietor of her majesty's desire. When the royal *cortège* entered Jarca, the inhabitants of the village, including the workmen of the *Herreria* were assembled to receive the queen.

Elizabeth proceeded to the Herreria, and so great was her interest in the process, that she quitted her coach, the better to comprehend it; an example followed by her entire retinue. Before this courtly assemblage, the glowing metal was fused, so greatly to the delight of the young queen that she remained for upwards of an hour viewing the spectacle.¹ Elizabeth then re-entered her chariot, and the *cortège* proceeded to Segura. There Don Pedro Zuaçola took leave of her majesty—Segura, being the last town of the Guipuzcoan district. At Segura, Elizabeth bade adieu to her brother, the duke d'Anjou, who was escorted back to the confines of Spain by the prior of St. Jean, and the deputies from Guipuzcoa,²

Elizabeth afterwards continued to travel leisurely forwards, at the rate of three leagues a day, pursuing her journey by night on account of the heat of the weather. Very great was her anxiety to rejoin the king her husband; who constantly sent couriers to meet her on the road, bearing letters praying her to hasten her return. The queen arrived at Pamplona on the 9th of July, at dusk. The following day she rode in procession round the town, and gave public audience to the authorities. In the evening her majesty was royally entertained in the episcopal palace by the bishop of Pamplona. On the 11th,

¹ Récit d'Abel Jouan, note 14. Pièces Fugitives sur l'Histoire de France, par M. le Marquis d'Aubais, t. 1.

² Ibid.

the queen arrived at Tafalla; from thence she proceeded to Tudela. After she had crossed the Ebro, Elizabeth granted no more audiences, but continued her route without respite, until she reached Sepulveda, one of her own dower towns, about the 17th of July, where she was met by Philip, and received by him with incredible pomp and gladness. "The king and queen, accosted each other as affectionately as can be imagined, and vied with each other which should do the other most honour. They took up their abode in the same house at Sepulveda, even in the same chamber, and remained together till five o'clock the next day after dinner. Then they went forwards five leagues, and reached Segovia, the following day,"¹ writes St. Sulpice to Catherine. Don Carlos, with his governor the prince of Eboli, and Don John of Austria, came out to meet her majesty, three leagues from Segovia. The prince approached the queen's litter on foot, and with marks of great joy sought to take Elizabeth's hand to kiss it. The queen, however, after gracefully presenting her hand, enchanted the prince by embracing him very cordially, which she did in the presence of the king. The *cortège* then proceeded to Segovia, where the king and queen were received by Doña Juana at the great portal of the Alcazar.²

Thus terminated the celebrated interview of

¹ Négociations de St. Sulpice—Dépêche à la royne mère, 11 Aoust, 1565, de Segovia, MS. Bibl. Imp., F. 9746, fol. 1er.—Ined.

² Ibid.

Bayonne—a conference which exercised so potent an influence on the politics of the latter half of the sixteenth century. Its pageants were the marvel and admiration of the age; while the fears excited by its political conferences, may in great measure be attributed, the subsequent civil conflicts, which decimated the population of France. The magnificence with which the queen was received, however, had flattered the pride of the Spanish nation. The duque de Alba, even, seemed momentarily won by Catherine's blandishments, and the honours lavished upon him by the French court. "It cannot be denied, sire," wrote Alba to his royal master, "that their Christian majesties welcomed, and received the queen our mistress, with singular love, honour, and splendour."¹

¹ Archives de Simancas, K. 1393, A. 108.—Ined.

CHAPTER III.

Sojourn of the Court at Valsain—Don Carlos—He presents verses to the queen—Arrival of the baron de Fourquevaulx at El Bosque—Return of the queen to Madrid—Her devotions—Grants audience to De Fourquevaulx—Details of the audience—Elizabeth performs a *neuvaine* to obtain the blessing of offspring—Her health—Anecdotes of the court—Discontent in the Low Countries—Rumoured departure of Philip for the Netherlands—Don Carlos requests to make the campaign—El Pardo—Interview between Elizabeth and the French ambassador—The king and queen receive at Getafe the shrine of St. Eugenio—Devotion of the queen—Her vow—Details concerning Elizabeth—Habits of the court—The queen's pregnancy is announced—Popular enthusiasm—Mission of M. de Villeroy—He obtains audience from the king and queen—Letter of Philip II. to Catherine de Medici—Elizabeth makes her will—Details concerning this document—Resignation of the condesa de Urueña—Reasons for her retirement from office—The duchess of Alba is appointed *Camaréra*—Departure of the court for El Bosque—Rumoured visit of the duke d'Anjou to the court of Spain—Philip returns to Madrid—Sorrow of the queen—Her occupations—The king arrives at El Bosque—Indisposition of the queen—Alarm of Philip—Conjugal happiness of the royal pair.

THE return of the queen was a joyous event for the Spanish court. The four months of her absence had been diversified only by processions and solemn *besamanos*. Philip, during this interval, seemed more reserved and taciturn in humour than usual ;

for the society of his beautiful young consort no longer soothed the anxieties consequent on the extension of the league in the Low Countries; or the displeasure occasioned by the wayward conduct of Don Carlos. An *auto-de-fé* had been celebrated at Valladolid, when a nobleman, one Vincente de Morone, suffered for heresy. Philip and his court assisted at the *quemazon*, which was also witnessed by a great concourse of people. The discontent in the Netherlands was not diminished by these cruel executions; and the confederates again boldly petitioned the regent Marguerite duchess of Parma, to annul the edicts against heresy; and to suspend the powers of the newly appointed Flemish Inquisitors.

The arrival of Elizabeth, with Alba and Don Juan Manrique de Lara was hailed with equal contentment by Philip, as by his courtiers. To them alone, and with Ruy Gomez, did Philip deviate from his habitual reserve: he was, moreover, anxiously expecting a further development of the policy likely to be pursued in France, under circumstances so threatening to the welfare of both realms. A few days after Elizabeth's return to Segovia, the royal pair departed to Valsain¹ accompanied only by Alba, Feria, Manrique, and a few other nobles from

¹ Valsain, Valseca, or Val Sabin, is distant from Segovia about one league. This hunting-seat of the Spanish kings was usually called "El Bosque de Segovia." El Bosque was a favourite abode of Philip II., and from this residence many of his most famous letters and despatches are dated. The palace has within the last century been nearly destroyed by fire, and but a wreck of its former splendour remains.

amongst those initiated in the policy and future designs of Philip's cabinet. The silence maintained by the queen-mother on her projects concerning religion deeply offended Philip. He had looked for the adoption of some definite measures beneficial to both France and Spain as the result of this interview; and it angered him exceedingly that Catherine, with dishonourable duplicity, as the king averred, should have laid principal stress on the negotiations for the marriages, which were regarded by him as very subordinate to the great object of his policy—the annihilation of heresy and its supporters.

Fresh acts of insubordination on the part of Don Carlos had likewise augmented the embarrassments of Philip's government. The prince had taken into favour a low buffoon of the name of Cisnéros, whom he introduced into his apartments in the palace, and treated with unseemly familiarity. Philip being shocked at the scandal of such proceedings commanded Espinosa,¹ president of the council, to exile Cisnéros, and to interdict his further intercourse with Don Carlos under penalty of the galleys for life. The prince one evening calling for this Cisnéros to perform before him, was informed of what had been done. Beside himself, with fury at being thus thwarted, Don Carlos hastened from his apartments in quest of Espinosa. Unfortunately he met him in one of the halls of the palace, as he quitted the royal

¹ Jacques Espinosa, cardinal-bishop of Sigüenza, president of the Council of Castile, and grand inquisitor.

cabinet. The prince sprang on the cardinal, and rudely grasping the hood of his cloak, brandished a dagger in his face, exclaiming, "Ah! have you the audacity to contend with me? How dare you interfere to prevent Cisnéros from serving me? By the life of my father, I will kill you!" The cardinal, startled by the sudden assault, and being alone and in fear of his life, made many humble apologies, and even threw himself on his knees before Don Carlos. The prince, after regarding him scornfully for a moment, turned on his heel and walked away.¹ Another day, the prince borrowed a valuable horse from the stud of king Philip, demanding the favour with such vehemence, that the master of the horse dared not refuse, especially as Don Carlos made oath, "on the life of his father," to restore the animal uninjured. The prince mounted, but rode some hours at so furious a rate, that the horse died after he quitted the saddle. "These proceedings," says the historian, "greatly offended the king, demonstrating as they did the little respect borne him by the prince his son."² It is recorded, also, by an apparently impartial witness, that the prince used to take delight in roasting partridges and other game alive;³ and when one of his governors, Don Garcia de Toledo, ventured to remonstrate, on this and other enormities, when they were riding together in the forest of

¹ Cabrera, *Hist. de Felipe II.*, lib. vii. cap. 22.

² *Ibid.* Ferreras—*Hist. de España*, t. ix. p. 544, etc.

³ Badoero, *Relazione*, Bibl. Imp. MS. Colb., 5486.

Acéca, the prince drew his sword and threatened to run him through the body if he uttered another word. Afterwards his manner towards Don Garcia became so menacing, that the latter repaired to the king, and resigned his post in the household of Don Carlos.¹ “De vrai,” says Brantôme, “il était un terrible masle; et s’il eût vécu, assurez-vous qu’il s’en fust fait à croire, et qu’il eût mis le père en curatelle.”²

During the interval of the queen’s absence, the negotiation for the marriage of the prince with Anne of Austria had made progress, under certain conditions, that is to say,—Philip promised Count Adam Dietrichstein the Imperial ambassador, that if he ever deemed his son fit to contract marriage, the daughter of the Emperor should be the first honoured by the prince’s suit. Elizabeth, therefore, took an early opportunity of explaining to the king the wishes of her mother respecting the alliances which Catherine desired to contract with Spain. Philip replied, “that the negotiation for the marriage of the prince with the eldest daughter of the Emperor was too far advanced to be set aside in favour of any other alliance. As for the proposed union between the duke d’Anjou and Doña Juana, he could not by any means entertain such a proposal.” Philip, however, added that he would willingly give his sister to king Charles, and employ his good offices to bring

¹ Ferreras—Hist. de España, t. ix.

² Brantôme. Capitaines Illustres—Vie de Don Carlos.

about an alliance between madame Marguerite and the archduke Rodolph, eldest son of the Emperor. Elizabeth faithfully transmitted to her mother these replies by a letter, which she confided to the care of St. Sulpice, on his return into France, during the month of August.

The presence of his young step-mother, meantime, had done more to tranquillize the restless spirit of the prince, than all the homilies of king Philip's ministers. Elizabeth's compassion for the unfortunate prince was unfeigned ; and she did all in her power to console and to persuade him to adopt habits of greater prudence and self-government. Perhaps, it was at this period that Don Carlos composed and presented this verse to the queen.

“ Puisque parler, Madame, est un allégement
A mon grief mal, je rompray le silence
En vous disant mon ennuy et tourment.
Bien n'a servi ma longue patience,
Vous qui avez d'amitié connaissance
Veuillez de moi prendre compassion,
Et entendez ma déploration ;
Car un ingrat, cause est de mon souci,
Un homme plein de tant de fictions
Qu'il ne mérite avoir de luy merci !”¹

It would be a difficult matter to decide to whom the prince referred by “l'homme plein de tant de fictions !” the ingrate, the cause of all his woe !

¹ MS. Bibl. Imp. Ancien Fonds François, 7237, p. 38.—Ined. That Don Carlos could write French verse is not surprising, as for years Matthieu Bossulus was his tutor, and seems to have been very successful in his management of his wayward pupil.

Next to his father, Don Carlos bore the fiercest hate towards his governor, Ruy Gomez, whom he accused of being a spy set over him by the king ; and upon whom, with many fearful oaths, he had vowed a future, and bloody revenge. His suspicion that those placed about him by the king treacherously betrayed him, produced feelings of vague terror and perplexity in the mind of Don Carlos, and irritated his temper. The prince was conscious of the guilt of his habitual excesses ; the disdainful indifference, therefore, shown towards him by the king rendered him perpetually uncertain whether chastisement for his folly was not being covertly concerted ; and this very apprehension rendered him still more defiant in his demeanour towards his father. The marked deference paid by Don Carlos to the wishes of his step-mother, doubtless, greatly augmented Philip's alienation from, and dislike of the prince. Still Philip reposed perfect confidence in the rectitude of Elizabeth's principles, and in her affection for himself ; nor does he seem to have placed any restraint on the intercourse between the queen and his son, which was frequent, and often confidential. The French ambassador constantly mentions, when recording his visits to the queen "that *su Alteza* was sitting with her majesty, engaged in earnest conversation." Although Philip thus rendered tribute to the discretion of his consort, it could not be agreeable to him to hear her praises perpetually on the lips of the prince, while his own motives and character were publicly traduced by his son,

as well as those of Doña Juana, who during the childhood of Don Carlos, had bestowed upon him most maternal care. The conduct of the prince must, likewise, have afforded great annoyance to Elizabeth herself; especially if the *dixains* which the prince presumed to address to her, were paraded by him before the eyes of the court.

In these effusions, it is to be remarked that the prince nowhere attributes to Elizabeth other feelings towards himself than, "l'amitié, et la compassion." He is not sparing, however, in his own expressions of admiration and love, while he frequently alludes to his isolation, which he states is only rendered bearable by her sympathy. Philip showed no jealousy at these proceedings, knowing that his unfortunate son was not an object likely to insinuate himself into the affections of any woman: indignation was rather the feeling which actuated the mind of the king at the malevolent motives so clearly to be discerned in the conduct of the prince, as regarded himself. Don Carlos, moreover, had recently made an observation, which was transmitted to the court of France, and from thence had been reported to Philip through his ambassador Alava, to the effect, "that if the queen, his step-mother, gave birth to sons, it was now his intention to divide the Spanish empire with his brothers." This declaration, had it been made by any other than Don Carlos, might have been deemed disinterested and noble; the impression produced on the mind of Philip was, however, as decidedly adverse

to the prince, as had been his previous intemperate assertion on Elizabeth's arrival, "that if the queen gave birth to a son, he would from henceforth hate both the mother and her offspring." Yet a mingled sentiment of affection and regret for the aberrations of his son appears, at times, to have been felt by Philip. Conversing one day after the return of the queen with the marquis de St. Sulpice, and alluding to the bilious fever which had recently afflicted the prince at Segovia, the king observed with a sigh, "I trust that my repeated admonitions may, at length, restrain the prince for the future from making such ruinous inroads on his health by dissipation; and that the sufferings entailed by disorders consequent on such excesses as those into which he is constantly falling, may render him more prudent and watchful."

The new French ambassador, Fourquevaulx, meantime, arrived at El Bosque de Segovia, and was received with cordiality by Philip. The queen, however, deferred her reception of the ambassador until after her arrival at Madrid. Elizabeth quitted El Bosque about the end of September, 1565, having sojourned there since July, after her return from Bayonne. The king remained some weeks longer absent from his capital, spending his time between Segovia, and El Pardo, that he might benefit by the exercise of the chase, which the physicians recommended to obviate the ill effects of his majesty's politi-

¹ *Régistres des Dépêches de St. Sulpice*—Bibl. Imp. MS. A la royne mère.—Ined.

cal excitements. "The king suffers much from stomach pains, and side stitches; on account of which, by the advice of his physicians he goes much to the chase, as affording the best means of strengthening the body, and ridding the spirit of melancholy thoughts," writes the Venetian ambassador, Badoero.

Elizabeth, therefore, left her lord at El Bosque, and proceeded to Madrid, where the court was to spend the winter. She arrived a few days before All Saints Day, accompanied by Doña Juana. The French ambassador anxiously demanded his promised audience; but, before the approaching festival, the queen was engaged in receiving the court, and in replying to the congratulations addressed to her on her happy journey from the frontier. On All Saints Day, Elizabeth publicly paid her devotions at the shrine of Our Lady of Atocha, to whom she presented votive gifts of thanksgiving for her safe return. On the following day, the 2nd of November, she sent to inform Fourquevaulx that she would receive him at three o'clock in the afternoon. The ambassador failed not to attend punctually, and was introduced into her majesty's private cabinet, where he found the queen alone. Fourquevaulx commenced by informing her majesty, that he had been commissioned by the queen her mother, to offer her certain admonitions. The very resolute determination shown by the young queen not to join in any project that might displease her husband, or injure the interests of Spain was still remembered by Catherine

de Medici. “ *Estoy muy Española !*” had been the queen-mother’s taunt to her daughter during their personal conferences on the frontier. In placing her daughter on the throne of Spain, Catherine, it is to be feared, cared more for the political ally she hoped to obtain, than for Elizabeth’s happiness:—and the gist of the many lectures which she commanded her ambassador to deliver to the queen, was counsel to prefer the interests of her brother, rather than the prosperity of Spain; and to win her husband’s political confidence, not that she might thereby become more honoured in the estimation of her Spanish subjects, but in order to transmit the secrets of the cabinet to her kindred in France. No better agent than Fourquevaulx could Catherine have selected for this office. He was fluent in words, plausible in argument, and was, moreover, afflicted with just that degree of deafness which enabled him to pass over as unheard, any disagreeable check or comment. At this his first audience, Fourquevaulx commenced by observing, “ that he was commanded by the queen, her mother, to admonish her majesty that it would be advisable for her forthwith to devise some opportunity of informing the king her husband, how desirous she was of sharing his labours, political cares and confidential communications, that she might afford him solace and comfort by her sympathy; that to attain this end, she should show great gladness at all events, which seemed pleasant and agreeable to his majesty; and the contrary when affairs appeared wrong: for,

by this means, she would have it in her power to obtain full knowledge of events ; and, consequently, she could penetrate and probe any matter prejudicial to the interests of the king her brother, who believed her to be so good a sister and daughter, that she would take all lawful and possible means to avert such. At any rate, king Charles expected that she would instantly communicate such event to her mother ; or, at least, to the ambassador—her majesty bearing always in mind her House and lineage, which, after God, ought to be regarded as her most certain support throughout the vicissitudes of life, whether God bestowed upon her the blessing of offspring or not. Moreover, her mother charged her not by any means to forget the words uttered by M. le Prince, concerning the partition of the realm of the king his father, with any brothers he might have.”

Elizabeth listened patiently to this harangue ; she then replied, “ that never had the affection languished which she bore towards her mother and the king her brother, nor could it ever be diminished. As for her younger brothers and her sister, if her love for them had not been so fervid, owing to her youth when she quitted France, the said princes being then so little that she scarcely remembered having ever seen them, yet the interview at Bayonne, where she had been received with so much delight and honour, had rekindled in her heart a love for all, fervent as could be desired ; so that she would never forget, nor omit any act, to prove her love and remembrance. Nevertheless it

appeared to her that the friendship and union between the two crowns were now so firmly based, that she believed peace and concord could never again be interrupted. And as to what you say, concerning M. le prince," continued Elizabeth, "he cannot be more obedient and well disposed than he now is. Although it is true that he despises, and ridicules the actions of the king his father, and finds fault with all that madame la Princesse and the little princes of Hungary can say, and do, yet he approves of all my actions ; nor has any person the influence with him that I have ; and this without dissimulation or artifice on his part, for he knows not how to feign." The ambassador then introduced the subject of the royal marriages, which Catherine had so much at heart. Elizabeth replied, "that she was expecting an answer from the queen, her mother, to the letter which she had sent by St. Sulpice. She believed that the preliminaries of the marriage of the prince with the eldest princess (of Bohemia) were so advanced, that the negotiation could not be broken off without deeply offending the emperor ; and, for this reason, she was of opinion that the second princess¹ (of Bohemia) who was incomparably more beautiful than the eldest, would be well matched with the king her brother. She also thought that no better marriage could be provided for madame Marguerite her sister, than to betroth her to the eldest son of the said emperor, who was a handsome and gallant

¹ The archduchess Elizabeth of Austria. She eventually espoused Charles IX.

young prince, and, beyond comparison, very superior to the prince of Spain. As for what her mother had written about la Princesa, it could not be accomplished; for even if the said princess should be found of suitable years to espouse M. d'Anjou, her pride was so lofty that she would only accept the hand of the king."

Some little impatience, probably, might be detected in Elizabeth's tone at being so perpetually beset by this repetition of her mother's projects, which she had not power to advance; for the ambassador let the subject drop, and said in his most courtly terms, that he had one more behest from her Christian majesty to deliver, with which she had very expressly charged him at La Rochelle, while he was taking leave, "that her majesty was to make haste soon to bear a son." Elizabeth smiled, and said gravely, as she rose, to terminate the audience, "that it had been, as the ambassador knew, her own exclusive fault, and not that of the king her husband." De Fourquevaulx, however, had somewhat more to communicate on political affairs before he departed; and Elizabeth was obliged to give her attention to a recital of differences which had ensued in the Spanish colony of Florida, between the Spaniards and some French settlers. "I informed her majesty," wrote Fourquevaulx, "how that the king of Spain would not permit any French to settle so near to his conquests." He then requested the queen to mention the matter to the king her husband, which she pro-

mised to do after his return. De Fourquevaulx then retired.¹

The affairs of the French colonists, however, were mentioned to the queen on the same day by the duke of Alba ; and she sent, the evening but one following, to desire the ambassador to wait upon her at the palace. Elizabeth then informed him, " that the king took very much to heart and very ill the affair of the settlers in Florida, whom he regarded as interlopers." She added, " that orders had been despatched to eject the French forcibly from thence ; and that a despatch on the subject was on its way to Don Francisco de Alava, who was commanded to lay the matter before the queen her mother." The ambassador bitterly replied " that it was greatly to be desired, then, that his Catholic majesty would declare the navigation open up to the territory colonised by his subjects, and free to those of the subjects of the French crown inclined for war ; so that those who could not live at home in peace and tranquillity might go out there, and expend their fury, far from the realms of France and Spain. " ²

The queen, about this period, by the advice of her confessor, commenced a nine days' devotion (*une neuvaine*) to the shrine of Nuestra Señora de Atocha, to pray that God would speedily grant her offspring.

¹ Dépêche de Fourquevaulx à la royne mère—Bibl. Imp. MS. Supplement François, 225, vol. I. p. 33.—Ined.

Ibid, p. 43.

She was accompanied on these pious pilgrimages by the condesa de Urueña, and by the duchess of Alba.

The feuds of the palace *camarilla*, meantime, had not by any means been allayed by the ejection from Spain of the French household. The belligerents were chiefly her majesty's physicians, Maîtres Vincent, Monguyon, and Burgensis, and the Spanish doctors Olivarez and Gutierrez, who unhappily, from the delicate condition of Elizabeth's health, often found opportunity for angry debate. The Spanish doctors, who were mostly of the Sangrado school, and ignorant of the common principles of their science, were jealous of the preference shown by Elizabeth for the prescriptions of her countrymen; while the latter stigmatized their colleagues with the epithets of "charlatans, ignorant and illiterate." Elizabeth, one day before the king's return, chanced to intimate to her first French physician, Vincent, her desire to take a bath, prepared with certain medicated waters, which had been recommended for her use by the queen her mother. Vincent, agreeing that her majesty could run no risk by indulging her inclination, gave the necessary directions to his apothecary, Dunoir, to prepare the bath. It so happened, that Elizabeth, in conversing with the *camaréra*, mentioned her intention of taking this bath. The condesa gravely asked whether her majesty's resolve had been approved by the united junta of her medical staff. Elizabeth replied that Vincent alone had been con-

sulted. On learning this, the condesa de Urueña withdrew; and, in a state of great excitement, she summoned the mayor-domo of her majesty's household, Don Juan Manrique, and imparted to him the fact, that the queen was about to bathe in medicated water, solely on the recommendation and authority of maître Vincent, none of her majesty's other physicians having been consulted on the occasion. The result of the consultation between the *camaréra* and Don Juan was, that the latter issued a prohibition forbidding maître Vincent and his apothecary to prepare any bath for her majesty, or to administer to her any potion, "no, nor even to touch a single hair of her head," without consulting the Spanish physicians; and then, only after first submitting their opinions for the approbation of the mayor-dômo. Maître Vincent, being compelled to obey this mandate, made the best excuses he could to the queen; and it seems that Elizabeth, during the king's absence, had not power herself to reverse the decree of Don Juan. The day but one following, however, the queen partaking heartily at dinner of some black puddings (*morcillas*) considered in those days a very royal dish, her majesty rose the next morning afflicted with head-ache, and feeling greatly indisposed. The physicians were summoned in haste; but Vincent purposely left the case of the royal patient, as far as possible, in the hands of the Spanish doctors; who, very much perplexed at the responsibility thrust upon them, anxiously asked for the co-operation of their French colleagues.

The recipe sent by Catherine for the bath was therefore gravely submitted by maître Vincent, who stated that it was the sole remedy he knew of likely to avail her majesty. The bath was, therefore, unanimously adopted, even by Don Juan, who withdrew his veto, to the great satisfaction of her majesty.¹ Elizabeth, afterwards being better advised, frequently availed herself of the luxury of a bath without mentioning her intentions to the vigilant *camaréra*.

Rumours, meanwhile, prevailed throughout the court that Philip intended to proceed early in the following year, accompanied by Don Carlos to Flanders, to put down in person the confederation of the lords; and that his present absence from his young consort, was for the purpose of weaning himself from her society, as well as to fit her majesty to perform the important functions of Regent of Spain. The condition of the Netherlands, it was well known, had become an object of extreme solicitude to the duchess of Parma, who anxiously appealed to the king for aid, and precise instructions relative to the conduct to be observed towards the chieftains of the formidable league. From El Bosque de Segovia, Philip, on the 17th of October, 1565, had despatched his famous letter to Marguerite of Parma, in which he decreed the annihilation of heresy, and the maintenance of the inquisition in the Netherlands: "for as regards the holy office of inquisition," writes

¹ Dépêches de Fourquevaulx à la royne mère. MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. F., 225, vol. I. p. 53.—Ined.

Philip to his sister,¹ "it is my will and command that the affairs of the tribunal be conducted by inquisitors, as they hitherto have been, and as by rights divine and human, it appertains to them." The publication of this, the decree of their stern sovereign, created indescribable consternation throughout the country. The bold burghers of the great commercial cities of the Netherlands, who had dared to defy their late potent sovereign Charles V., rose to arms, and with vehement indignation cast from them the priestly bondage sought to be imposed. "Shall the banner of the Inquisition cast its shadow over our land?" became the demand of every true patriot. The most seditious pamphlets were dispersed abroad, recounting the atrocities committed by the Holy Office, both in Spain and America. Placards of inflammatory character were issued, and nailed during the night to the doors of the palace, and the public edifices in Brussels; and those members of the council of state known to be favourable to the royal ordinances could scarcely stir abroad without peril of their lives, so violently was the popular fury aroused. In short, all things presaged that bloody contest, which finally wrested from the Spanish crown some of her fairest provinces. When Philip was informed of the exasperation of the populace of Brussels, he composedly remarked, "that he regretted that his despatches sent from El Bosque had given such displeasure, as he was only influenced by a due regard for the welfare

¹ Gachard, *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, t. i.—Rapport 129.

of religion, and of his subjects.”¹ The duchess of Parma, finding that each day involved her in fresh embarrassments, wrote to her brother urgently entreating to be relieved from her government by the presence of the king at Brussels, who could then see and judge for himself. When this ominous condition of affairs became known at the Spanish court, many persons went so far as to fix the day when Philip would take his departure for the Low Countries; and to speculate in which of the royal residences of Spain Elizabeth might hold her court. Other personages, more discriminating and better versed in affairs, gave no faith to the rumours; knowing how cordially their king hated excitement of any kind, and the delight he took in sojourning at Madrid, and in his other Spanish palaces. Above all, it was not deemed probable that Philip would initiate his son in the cabals of the great confederation; or that his majesty could suffer the prince to mingle personally in the strife:—“Nobody gives credit to the report, that the king will permit the prince to quit Spain for the Low Countries,” writes de Fourquevaux.² “The said prince, is a person of very flighty conduct, and would infallibly make some compact, with either Flemings, or Italians, the which must eventually be repented of by both parties. It is very evident that the prince is weary of abiding here in idleness; and that he courts some great command or post.” The French ambas-

¹ Gachard, *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, t. i. p. 400.

² *Dépêches de Fourquevaux*, Bibl. Imp. MSS., p. 54.—Ined.

sador, by the command of Catherine, one day boldly asked the queen of Spain, "whether she believed that the king intended shortly to visit his German possessions?" Elizabeth discreetly replied, "that like the ambassador, she had heard the report, and on mentioning it to the king, his majesty wrote, 'that as yet he had taken no resolution on the subject; the rumour which had likewise come to his ears, being nothing but the work of busy-bodies; but whenever he did decide upon such a journey, it would be in her majesty's company.'"¹

From the year 1565, dates the commencement of the political hostility between Philip and his son. Don Carlos had then completed his twentieth year, and yet remained subject to the control of tutors and governors. His violent spirit chafed at such subordination, and at the contempt with which he was treated by his father. His sudden frenzies, caused him to be so dreaded by the grandees, that the deferential manner which they assumed when accosted by him, partook of the soothing indulgence shown towards a froward child—a demeanour bitterly galling to the pride of the prince. Another source of great offence to Don Carlos, was the favour shown by the king to Don John of Austria, and towards Alexander Farnese prince of Parma, son of the regent of the Netherlands. These princes, whose careers subsequently shed glory of no common description on the reign of Philip, were treated with distinction, and were

¹ *Dépêches de Fourquevaux. Bibl. Imp. MSS., p. 54.—Ined.*

subjected to no humiliating restraints. Though the heir of the Spains, the king had refused, the prince complained, to admit him to the council-board ; while he had rejected his earnest petition to be nominated to a military command in the Low Countries. Yet with a due regard to his own honour, as a sovereign and a father, it was not possible for Philip to grant his son's requests. Probably, had Don Carlos been born the son of a private individual, instead of the heir of a mighty empire, the discipline of a *maison de santé* might have restored vigour to his mind ; for there can remain no doubt that the madness of his unfortunate grandmother queen Juana, afflicted the intellect of the prince of Spain ;—a destiny that had already been the lamentable heritage of so many members of his royal house.

The queen, with Doña Juana, diversified her lonely sojourn at Madrid, by making occasional excursions to El Pardo, a royal residence then about six miles from Madrid. The palace of El Pardo, was built by Charles V., who surrounded it with an extensive chase fifteen leagues in circumference. The edifice was constructed of a grey stone, hence its appellation El Pardo.¹ Within the palace, Charles V. and Philip II., had assembled most of the *chef-d'œuvres* of Titian ; and also many exquisite specimens of the Flemish schools. The apartments were hung with arras from the looms of Antwerp, and abounded in works of decorative art. Philip loved the oak

¹ Pardo is the Spanish for "grey."

forests of El Pardo ; and to follow the boar through their tangled thickets, and impenetrable solitudes, was deemed by him an enjoyment inferior only to the monastic seclusion of El Escorial.

On the 7th of December, the queen's embroiderer, Tissart, returned from Paris, bringing a packet of despatches from the French court for Fourquevaulx. These letters had been anxiously expected, both by Elizabeth and the ambassador. The despatches treated solely of the marriages projected by Catherine ; who wrote to her daughter in reply to the letter sent by Elizabeth, through St. Sulpice from El Bosque de Segovia. In her letter to Fourquevaulx, Catherine stated that the Spanish ambassador had spoken to her on the subject of the marriages, and that his words agreed with the intelligence privately sent to her from Spain. The queen said that Don Francisco read his instructions from a despatch which he was authorized to show her, though not to leave in her possession. She, however, had been enabled to take a secret copy of the despatch, unknown to the ambassador, during his audience ; when having the document before her and finding that the whole differed much from the resolutions adopted, relative to the marriages at Bayonne, she had replied thereto by another statement, which the marquis de St. Sulpice, by her command, read to Don Francisco. "The pith of this memorial," writes the queen, "goes to prove that we desire as well as themselves to derive benefit from the bargain." Catherine commands de Fourquevaulx

on presenting her letters, to submit both the memorials,—a copy of which she enclosed to the queen, her daughter : also she desired that her own minute might be shown to king Philip, and to the duké of Alba, if his Catholic majesty gave permission ; but to submit the document without fail to Ruy Gomez, whom Catherine considered as the most faithful partisan of French interests at the court of Madrid.¹

The day upon which Fourquevaulx received these despatches he sought a conference with Elizabeth ; but the queen had quitted the palace early for the convent of Atocha, where she was to remain in performance of her vow until late that evening. The queen, therefore, sent word to Fourquevaulx that she could not receive him until Saturday, the 8th of December, at three in the afternoon. After her return from the convent, Elizabeth again despatched a chamberlain to the ambassador, with the message, “ that in making the appointment with M. de Fourquevaulx for Saturday, she had forgotten that she was to leave Madrid in the forenoon, accompanied by la Princesa to meet the king at El Pardo, where she was intending to sojourn for some days ; her majesty, therefore, could not grant the ambassador audience until Thursday the 13th, when the court would have returned to Madrid.” Elizabeth certainly showed little impatience to receive her mother’s letters, or to hear her opinion on the alliances projected. Probably she

¹ Lettre de la royne mère à M. de Fourquevaulx—Dépêches, Bibl. Imp., p. 61. Datée de Plessis-les-Tours, à 28 Novembre, 1565.—Ined.

remembered, and resented the objurgations of the ambassador at the last audience she granted him ; for Elizabeth had a high spirit, and began to appreciate the dignity of her position. At three o'clock, therefore, on the 13th of December, the ambassador proceeded to the palace. He found her majesty in excellent health and spirits, very joyous at the return of the king her lord. Elizabeth then received the three letters addressed to her from the queen-mother, king Charles, and the duke d'Anjou. Only a fragment of Catherine's epistle to her daughter exists, and that alone in a translation of the letter into Spanish. The letter, we are told, was opened by the young queen with great demonstrations of content, and read by her before the others, "as most important, and addressing herself exclusively." Catherine commences by acknowledging the receipt of the despatch sent by Elizabeth from El Bosque ; she then continues. "I have thought it expedient to send to the sieur de Fourquevaulx a copy of the memorial, which I have addressed to the ambassador here, Don Francisco de Alava, to prove to you, and to the king your husband, that I still maintain the same opinions which I imparted to you, and in nothing have I deviated ; to wit :—the peace and union of Christendom, the which must principally be achieved by the alliance between our two royal houses. Therefore, madame ma fille, remembering what you so frequently repeated to me at Bayonne, I believe that the most difficult negotiation of all, will be concerning the

marriage for your brother d'Orleans :¹ nevertheless, when people have a true inclination to accomplish any thing, and enter heartily into the affair, I hold that difficulties vanish. I will, however, take patience, praying that God may so far favour my designs, that I may see you sister to the one, and mother to the other,² having also children of your own. Proceed, therefore, madame ma fille, with such prudent caution, in these negotiations, that all Christendom may owe you obligation, and especially our two royal houses : in doing thus, you will most surely obviate all occasions for war, both present and future."³ When the queen had finished the perusal of this letter, the ambassador placed the Spanish memorial in her hands, mentioned by queen Catherine as having been surreptitiously copied during the audience she had granted to Don Francisco ; and which contained Philip's responses to the alliances proposed by Catherine at Bayonne. Elizabeth attentively read the document ; she then told the ambassador that, "it seemed to her very correctly to indicate his majesty's will, as she had herself written to the queen, her mother by St. Sulpice." The ambassador, somewhat disconcerted at the queen's self-possessed manner and response, asked whether her majesty had broached the subject of the alliance between king Charles and the

¹ Henri duc d'Anjou, then bore the title of duc d'Orleans.

² Catherine's obscure phrase means : "sister to Doña Juana, by her marriage with d'Anjou ; and mother to Marguerite de Valois, by the union of the princess to Elizabeth's step-son Don Carlos.

MS. Simancas, K. 1393, A. Dec. 13, 1565.—Ined.

second archduchess to the queen her mother. Elizabeth responded : " No, M. l'ambassadeur, for I made no proposition, but only ventured an opinion." " Madame," continued de Fourquevaulx, " madame la Princesse must not expect to obtain the hand of the king, as his majesty reserves himself for alliance with Germany. Moreover, the French would never take it in good part, that their king should choose a wife who has numbered as many years as her Highness. The example, madame, set by his Catholic majesty, who has chosen you, being in the prime and flower of your age, so that he might mould your majesty to conform to Spanish customs and usages, ought to be deemed worthy of imitation by the king, your brother. Also, madame, I would observe that German women are more fitted to form alliance with the French than Spanish women, from similarity of constitution and habits. Another consideration which may have weight with madame la Princesse," added the adroit Fourquevaulx, " is, that monseigneur d'Anjou might succeed to his brother's throne, when, from a simple duchess madame la Princesse may become a queen and sovereign." " Certes, M. l'ambassadeur," replied Elizabeth demurely, " you have, indeed, succeeded in representing the affair in a new light. I will not fail to report your last suggestion to the king, my lord, and to impress upon his majesty its importance."¹ De Fourquevaulx then took leave, and the following morning, Friday, 14th, he sent to ask audience of

Philip. The king excused himself on the plea, that he was going to preside at the council of state, and remanded the ambassador until Saturday the 15th.

After the council of state rose, Philip and Elizabeth proceeded together on horseback to the adjacent village of Getafe, to witness the passage through that place of the body of St. Eugenio, which had been presented to the king by Charles IX, on its road to Toledo. The bones of the saint reposed in a superb shrine, borne under a velvet canopy, and open to the gaze of all spectators. The body was perfect in all respects, excepting the right arm, which sacred relic Philip happily already possessed; as it had been brought in 1156 to Toledo, by Ramon, second archbishop of that see. As the cortège approached the royal pair, Elizabeth knelt in lowly reverence before the relics, and made a vow to bestow the name of the saint on the first child born to her. She, moreover, besought St. Eugenio to pray for her, and to intercede with the Almighty, that this great blessing of offspring might be given to her. High mass was performed by the bishop of Cuença, in presence of the sovereigns; after which the cavalcade proceeded to Toledo, which it reached on the evening of the 18th. The following day, the body of the saint was reunited to its missing member, and enthroned in the magnificent chapel in the cathedral of Toledo, called that of San Eugenio.¹

¹ *Dépêches de Fourquevaux*, p. 75. *Cabrera, Hist. de Felipe Segundo.*

The memorials, meantime, and all the statements sent by the queen-mother were laid before Philip with conscientious exactitude by the ambassador on the 15th. Philip replied to no point in particular ; but contented himself with sending a complimentary message to Catherine. De Fourquevaulx then sought a conference with the duke of Alba and Ruy Gomez. These confidential advisers of Philip observed that, " as far as the prince was concerned, his majesty had no great desire to see his highness married at all, deeming him unfit to enter that holy state. That already an impediment had arisen in the negotiation for the marriage between his highness and the archduchess Anne, as the emperor chose to ask as one of the conditions, that his Catholic majesty should cede a good extent of territory to his son, at which proposition the king turned a cold shoulder." The ambassador publicly paying his court to the queen some few days afterwards, ventured to ask her majesty whether she had spoken to the king her husband according to her promise, to recommend queen Catherine's memorial and the marriages for the adoption of the cabinet. Elizabeth replied, " that she had spoken to his majesty, who declined to negotiate more for the marriage of la Princesa with M. d'Anjou." Fourquevaulx then repeated the substance of his conference with the prince of Eboli and Alba. The queen, thereupon, observed, " that every proposition had its drawbacks ; and that the king was absolutely

determined not to cede away any one of his territories.”¹

Catherine's pertinacity in the matter of the marriage of her son d'Anjou is quite inexplicable. The alliance of Juana, in a political point of view, presented not the advantages which had tempted the queen to sue for the hand of Elizabeth of England for her favourite son. Besides the disparity of years, the profligate character of the duke d'Anjou, young as he was, would doubtlessly have induced the sage and devout Juana, to reject the alliance, even had it obtained her brother's sanction. Catherine goes on reiterating her proposals, without once referring to the inclinations of the princess herself; who, being a widow, the mother of the king of Portugal, and richly dowered, had the power of disposing of her hand independently of king Philip. Juana, however, was ready to accept the suit of king Charles, and ascend the throne of France, which always possessed a peculiar attraction to Spanish princesses. Perceiving that she could make no impression on the princess in favour of her boy-suitor, Catherine, resolved to affiance the king, who had completed his fifteenth year, to the archduchess Elizabeth, second daughter of Maximilian, hoping thus to render Juana more propitious to the alliance with the duke d'Anjou. She accordingly sent instructions to the bishop of Rennes, to make overtures accordingly.

¹ *Dépêches de Fourquevaux*, MSS. Bibl. Imp. p. 94.—Ined.

The Emperor received the proposal with evident pleasure, but said "that before he gave a decided reply on the subject, he must consult the king of Spain, who doubtless would be of the same advice on the matter as himself." Upon this, Catherine secretly despatched a courier into Spain, with letters to her daughter, praying her to find out her husband's opinion on the matter, as she feared on account of Doña Juana, he might oppose her brother's marriage with the archduchess. Philip vaguely replied to the questions put to him by his young wife on the subject, "that when the proposal was officially made, relative to the marriage of the archduchess Elizabeth, with Charles IX., it would give him sincere content to see her Highness allied in the manner deemed most conducive to her interests."¹

At the commencement of the New Year, 1566, the French ambassador presented to Elizabeth a case containing presents from queen Catherine. Amongst other things, the queen sent her daughter rich brocades of costly price ; lace, ribands, gloves, and perfumes. She also presented her with two diamonds, perforated so as to hang suspended from a chain or riband. Elizabeth caused the case to be opened in the presence of the ambassador: taking the jewels from the casket, the queen selected a narrow orange riband, upon which she strung the diamonds, and afterwards passed it round her neck—"the queen,

¹ Dépêche de Fourquevaux—MSS. Bibl. Imp., p. 147.—Ined.

your daughter, madame, looking the while very pleased and satisfied.”¹

Elizabeth always appeared sumptuously attired, such being the pleasure of the king, her husband. Brantôme relates that the least splendid of her robes cost four or five hundred crowns ; and that she never wore a dress twice, “ so,” says he, “ her majesty’s tailor, who when he entered her service, was poor and needy, became rich as could be.”² Elizabeth had adopted the wide sleeves, *à l’Espagnole* which displayed her beautiful arms. She wore them ornamented with the fringe Spaniards call “ *puntas*,” or adorned with the costly laces of Flanders. The crown jewels of Spain were very magnificent ; these and all the treasures amassed by Isabel the Catholic, and the empress Philip’s mother, were given to Elizabeth, by her husband ; who also continually made her rich presents of pearls and delicate goldsmith’s work. “ King Philip, furnished his consort with a superb wardrobe, and maintained most sumptuous state for her in all things ; but alas !” says Brantôme, “ what did all this avail her, when the catastrophe of her most grievous end was so near !” Elizabeth seldom adopted the mantilla ; and went abroad with her face uncovered after the fashion of her own country. Sometimes she wore the Spanish hat, and small plume ; “ but all modes,” says Brantôme, “ suited her

¹ Dépêche de Fourquevaux—MS. Bibl. Imp., p. 147.—Ined.

² Brantôme. Dames Illustres—Vie d’Elizabeth de Valois.

with ravishing grace." Her hair which was dark and lustrous, she wore rolled twice round her head. While she remained in France, Elizabeth, like her sister Marguerite, adopted the blonde tresses, considered at Catherine's court so becoming ; but after her marriage she discarded this fashion, at the especial request of the king, her husband. At the back of her head, Elizabeth generally wore a small coif beset with pearls ; and a veil of rich lace, which fell in folds below her waist. On state occasions, a brilliant diadem replaced this coif.

About the end of January, 1566, it was announced that, thanks to the intercession of our Lady of Atocha and the blessed St. Eugénio, the supplications preferred by the young queen had been miraculously answered, inasmuch as her Catholic majesty had entered the second month of her pregnancy. The news was received with rejoicing by the Spanish people. The cannon saluted, and the bells pealed joyously in every town throughout the realm. Pilgrimages were undertaken by several individuals to supplicate Heaven to grant her majesty a favourable time, and a safe delivery. Couriers were despatched by Fourquevaulx with the intelligence to Paris. Catherine received the tidings with transport ; and forthwith sent the messenger back, the bearer of minute instructions for her daughter's guidance and government. A few days after the queen's condition was publicly announced, Fourquevaulx, with his usual officious zeal, proceeded to the palace, and

inquired of her majesty whether she would not like to have despatched to her a couple of French midwives chosen by her royal mother, 'because no time ought to be lost in their selection. The queen replied, "that she did not require any such aid; having in her household a Spanish lady very well versed in such mysteries. Moreover, the Spanish nation would take it in very ill part, and justly so, if she, their sovereign, had recourse to the aid of her own countrymen."'¹ Catherine, however, not satisfied with the wisdom and good-feeling of her daughter's reply, made another grand negotiation of this affair of the French ladies, which Philip, as will be seen, was obliged to decide under his own hand.

Better arrangements were, meantime, made for the preservation of the queen's health. Her majesty was placed under the medical direction of the doctors Olivarez, Vincent, and Montguyon. Three times a week she proceeded to some distance from the capital in her litter borne by footmen; then her majesty alighted, and took walking exercise, attended by the condesa de Urueña and Don Juan Manrique. Philip was advised to send his consort away from the keen atmosphere of Madrid and the *embarras* of courtly ceremonial to one of his country houses, where she might enjoy complete repose. At one time, the king had decided that Elizabeth should proceed to Guadalajara, and take up her abode in the Mendoza palace,

¹ Dépêche de Fourquevaulx—MS. Bibl. Imp., p. 136.—Ined. Suppl. François, 225, vol. I.

where their espousals had been celebrated. The spacious gardens and the salubrious situation of the palace, which was placed at their majesties disposal by the duque de Infantado, seemed to offer many advantages. The queen, however, not desiring to be so long indebted to the hospitality of the Mendoza, opposed the design. Elizabeth, moreover, dreaded the separation which must then have ensued between herself and the king, whose absence she never submitted to without great complaints and sorrow. So marked was Philip's demeanour at this period towards his consort, that the ambassador Fourquevaulx makes the following comment to Catherine de Medici, in one of his despatches: "Madame, I assure your majesty that yesterday I saw the king give great indications of the love which he bears his consort, paying her majesty all the honours, respects and attentions which he would do if he were still her majesty's lover, instead of her husband. He shows her the same honours in public as in private, and spends every afternoon two good hours with her in her apartments. God grant that long may their Catholic majesties reap such contentment in each other's society!"¹

In consideration of the queen's delicate condition, many oppressive usages of the Spanish court were dispensed with by command of Philip. Elizabeth generally dined alone in public at the primitive hour of eleven; her next repast was about half-past three

¹ Dépêche de Fourquevaulx. MS. Bibl. Imp., p 194 et suivant.

in the afternoon, when she partook of a meal called in Spain *merienda*. At seven, the queen sometimes supped in public with Philip, a repast the same as the modern dinner ; at others, she took this meal privately in her apartments with the king. A grand ball, or *besamanos*, followed ; and the royal pair retired about eleven. When Elizabeth dined alone in public, she sat under a canopy, having the condesa *camaréra-mayor*, and the grand-master of her household behind her chair. Her first lady of honour, the duchess of Alba, presented her majesty with water in a silver basin, and a towel fringed with gold at the conclusion of the repast. The queen's dwarf, Montaigne, stood on her majesty's left hand, and entertained her during the ceremony with his jests and gibes at the expense of the courtiers. All the cavaliers and ladies of the household stood round the apartment. The cavaliers used to say that, whilst her majesty was dining, served by the chief members of her household, that their business in the circle was, not to pay court to the queen, but to *conter fleurette* to her maids, " that they might not feel the worse for *ennui*. " One day, early in February, 1566, at one of these public ceremonies, the mayor-domo-mayor, Don Juan Manrique, gave great offence to his royal mistress, by insisting, when conversing with her majesty, that the crown of France of right belonged to king Philip, as the daughter and eventual heiress of Louis-X. king of France, married Otho, duke of Burgundy. Don Juan

asserted that the Salique law was afterwards dishonourably concocted to deprive the said duchess of her rights, and hand over the realm of France to Philippe de Valois. After dinner, Montaigne ran and informed the French ambassador of the incident which had so angered his royal mistress. Fourquevaulx mentioned the matter to Catherine, adding that Don Juan Manrique derived his knowledge from a libellous pamphlet, much prized at the court of Spain, which was published at Rome during the pontificate of the late pope, when the French and Spanish ambassadors were contending for precedence.¹ Catherine expressed great displeasure at the audacity of Don Juan's assertion; and observed that she felt convinced the queen would not suffer such injurious remarks to be made at her table, without indignantly rebuking the offender.

Elizabeth's health, meanwhile, continued in excellent condition; and she was able to participate in the *fêtes* given at court during the spring of 1566. Amongst other pastimes, there was a tournament, at which her majesty presided.

The prince, meantime, continued his amiable deportment towards the queen, and vowed to share his future heritage with her offspring. During the course of this year, Don Carlos seems to have been more tractable than usual. He was, nevertheless, closely watched by his governor, the prince of Eboli; and his correspondence appears to have been placed

¹ Dépêche de Fourquevaulx—MSS. Bibl. Imp., 159.—Ined.

under *surveillance*. At all hours of the day, however, he was permitted access to the queen's apartment, a solace of which he frequently availed himself. His companions, Don John of Austria, the archdukes Rodolph, Albert, and Ernest, the prince of Parma, and the duque de Pastrana, son of Ruy Gomez, showed little sympathy with the boisterous humours, and fiery and jealous temper of the prince. Nevertheless, the king had done his best to provide suitable companions for his son: Don John of Austria and Alexander Farnese were heroes in an age of brilliant exploits; while the amiable, though eccentric disposition of the Archduke Rodolph, rendered him, at this period, universally popular. Don Carlos, however, jealously resented the favour with which his youthful uncle was regarded by the king; and displayed the greatest passion when allusion was made in his presence to the future exploits expected from the genius of the former. His quarrels with the prince were notorious. In his rage, Don Carlos used to apply most opprobrious epithets to Don John. One day he called him "bastard, beggar, and nameless." Don John retorted angrily: "*Si, si, yo lo soy; mas yo tengo padre mejor que vos!*" which answer still more incensed the prince, as he understood the remark made by Don John to be an allusion to the superior favour shown him by the king. The prince of Parma was haughty and reserved in temper, prompt to avenge slights, and sarcastic in speech. Don Carlos hated him on account of his unbending disposition; and also because

his mother, the able *gouvernante* of the Low Countries, usurped, as he termed it, a post which the prince coveted, and believed to be his own by right. The careless temper of the Archduke Rodolph, and his partiality for the study of alchemy and the occult sciences, afforded the Prince a constant theme for sarcasm. As for the little duke of Pastrana, the son of Ruy Gomez, about whose parentage the *mauvaises langues* of the court loved to descant, Don Carlos spurned him from his path as the offspring of his greatest enemy, the man whose destruction he had vowed. The duke de Feria,¹ captain of the body-guard was another victim to the insane prejudices of the prince. Alba he detested with bitter hatred, as the author, together with the prince of Eboli and Espinosa, of the annoyances of which he complained. All these, the statesmen and warriors, whose genius then and afterwards adorned the reign of Philip II., the prince goaded into hostility. Self-preservation, it must be acknowledged, is the most powerful of actuating motives. The death of Philip might any day place Carlos on the throne; whilst those who had incurred his displeasure had no reason to disbelieve that he would refrain from putting his threats into execution.

¹ Don Léonardo Suarez de Figueroa, fifth count de Feria. Philip II. raised the condé de Feria to the dignity of a duke, after his embassy in England during the reign of Mary I., and a portion of that of Elizabeth. The duke de Feria married the sister of Sir Henry Sydney. Badoero says: "Feria is kind, discreet, a friend of Ruy Gomez; but without much knowledge of affairs." The revenues of the duke de Feria amounted to 20,000 ducats.

Admitting, therefore, that the very worst surmises respecting the ultimate fate of Don Carlos are correct and credible, it can excite no surprise that, having leagued against him, by his own rash conduct, all the most illustrious and influential personages in the realm, he should himself have fallen a victim to their fears. Once, and once only, had the father been honoured through the medium of his graceless son. At Philip's proclamation in Valladolid, March 28th, 1556, Don Carlos took the banner of Spain from Don Antonio de Rojas, and, waving it, exclaimed: *Castilla! Castilla! por el Rey Don Felipe II., nuestro soberano!*"¹ an ejaculation responded to by loyal vivas from the multitude thronging the Campo Grande where the ceremony was performed.

About the middle of February, despatches arrived from France, announcing the approaching arrival of M. de Villeroy, deputed by Charles IX to congratulate their Catholic majesties on the happy event of Elizabeth's approaching maternity. Catherine sent a packet of richly embroidered slippers for her daughter; also some hats in French fashion, which however did not please the queen, who preferred the Spanish costume. Catherine also recommended to her daughter's protection a converted Jew, le Sieur Helio, who accompanied the courier, he having expressed a desire to be baptized in Spain. The convert was forthwith commended by Elizabeth

¹ Sandoval, Vida del Emperador Carlos V.

to the Bishop of Cuença, confessor to his Catholic majesty ; when after some preliminary examination into the sincerity of his faith, the sieur Helio was admitted into the Romish church. In her letter to the ambassador Fourquevaulx, Catherine commands him, to use his best efforts to induce the king to permit his consort to accept the attendance of the French ladies she had recommended. She likewise desired him to mention the matter to the prince and princess of Eboli, that they might employ their influence over his majesty. The queen took no heed of her daughter's distinct refusal on two separate occasions to accept the services of these ladies, choosing to take it for granted that she was acting from compulsion. De Villeroy arrived at Madrid about the middle of March 1566. The king gave him audience on the 24th. Philip always received Catherine's *empressements* with a gravity, which has something ludicrous, knowing as did both these very astute sovereigns, that the warmth of their compliments veiled the hollowness of the sentiments they exchanged. The king thus gives in a few words a recital of Villeroy's audience to his ambassador in Paris: "I have given audience to this said de Villeroy, who informed me that the Christian king and his mother having certainly ascertained that the queen my wife is pregnant, sent him to compliment us both in their names, with many other timely phrases. The said de Villeroy fulfilled his mission, making many complimentary speeches ; to the which

I responded in suitable fashion."¹ De Villeroy proceeded from the king's apartment to wait upon Elizabeth. After presenting her with letters, the envoy prayed her majesty to accept the services of the French midwives, as the queen her mother greatly desired her assent to this proposal. Elizabeth replied by a peremptory negative; the envoy was proceeding to argue the point, when the entrance of Doña Juana put a stop to his discourse.² The following day, he again renewed his importunity; Elizabeth said, "that it was her resolve not to receive more Frenchwomen in her household; and that she did not desire the services of the ladies recommended by her mother." Not content with this positive refusal, de Villeroy spoke to Philip on the subject, setting forth the benefits which would accrue to the queen from the superior knowledge possessed by Catherine's ladies. Philip gravely replied, "the Catholic queen will be well cared for by Montguyon and her surgeons, but I will myself write to queen Catherine on the matter." The king, therefore, sent de Villeroy the following letter to deliver to his royal mistress on his return.

PHILIP II. TO CATHERINE DE MEDICI, QUEEN OF FRANCE.

"Señora.

"Villeroy has delivered to me your majesty's letter, with as good tidings as I could desire of your health. He has likewise informed me of that which your majesty

¹ Carta de Felipe Segundo à Don Francisco de Alava—MS. Simancas, K. 1393, N. 20, No. 142.—Ined.

² Instruction de M. de Fourquevaux à M. de Villeroy pour rendre

commanded him to say, respecting the condition of your realm, and I rejoice that affairs there have been so adjusted, that your majesty and the king my brother, are relieved from care, to the content of those who desire your prosperity and repose. I can readily believe your majesty rejoices that the pregnancy of the queen my wife goes on prosperously, as the *Sieur de Villeroy* will more amply inform you. As for the two women, whom your majesty desires to send to attend the queen during her travail, I kiss your majesty's hands for the considerate proposal, in which I appreciate the anxiety which possesses your majesty, and the great kindness that prompts such an offer: nevertheless, your majesty will learn from the letters written by the queen, and from your ambassador, that the queen my consort desires not their assistance, as it appears to her that she has sufficient attendants already, who are well known to her, and that more will create confusion; a thing to be carefully avoided in such emergencies. Your majesty may assure yourself that did I deem such aid requisite for the queen, I would not write thus; but on the contrary solicit you very earnestly to send these said ladies without delay. Should it even now appear to me to be expedient, I will still request this aid from your majesty. The queen considers, however, that such a measure will not be necessary; but that everything will happen as we hope, and expect. I pray God to bestow upon your majesty the prosperity which he desires who subscribes himself,

“ Su buen hijo y hermano,”

“ EL REY.”¹

compte aux Majestés très Christiennes de son voyage en Espagne—*Dépêches*, p. 213.—Ined.

¹ Carta de Felipe II. à la reyna Doña Catalina de Medici—Simancas, MS. K. 1393, B. 20, No. 126.—Ined.

It was with extreme reluctance that Catherine relinquished her design, even on the express refusal of both the king and queen to accept her offer. She continually recurs to it in her correspondence at this season, commanding her ambassador to take any favourable opportunity of again introducing the subject.

The court of Madrid during the spring was augmented by the arrival of the marquis de Bergen, and of Floris de Montmorency baron de Montigny, sent by the regent of the Low Countries to confer with Philip on political affairs; especially on the petition which the confederated lords had presented to her, respecting the edicts and the suppression of the Inquisition. The arrival of the envoys was very unwelcome to the king—for the council of state was divided as to the measures to be pursued, for the repression of “*Les Gueux*,” as the malcontents were termed, and the maintenance of religion in Flanders. Alba, Espinosa, the bishop of Cuença, Naxara, and Philip himself, seem to have favoured the adoption of rigorous measures; though the king’s determination was not then openly manifested—as he listened to the deliberations of his counsellors, and pondered them in privacy: while Feria, Ruy Gomez, and Don Juan Manrique, besought his majesty to moderate the rigour of the edicts, and to make timely concessions to allay popular excitement. Don Carlos, as far as he was initiated into the policy of the state was supposed to sympathize with the confederate lords;

not, however, it may reasonably be concluded, from his approbation of their religious opinions, as those, the prince, brought up in Spain in rigid communion with the Romish Church, and surrounded from his birth by devoted adherents of the papacy, could not possibly uphold from conviction. The tenor of the prince's acts, however, repudiated all that his father approved ; while he countenanced every principle which the king disowned. The policy recommended by Alba was disapproved by the prince ; yet this fact of itself can be no evidence of his sympathy with the Flemish confederates, as he equally disowned that of Feria, who advocated lenient measures at this juncture. The tumults in the Netherlands, as aimed against his father's authority, and that of the duchess of Parma, were exultingly descanted upon by the prince, who was so indiscreet that every impulse and thought found utterance on his lips. It has been asserted, however, that Bergen and Montigny were commissioned to sound the sentiments of the prince ; but no ground for such an accusation can be detected in the articles drawn against Montigny at his subsequent trial for treason by Philip's command.¹ The sight of a brave and noble people in arms in defence of their faith, doubtless excited the martial enthusiasm of Don Carlos, who eagerly coveted military renown ; while his partisans increased his discontent by commenting on the career of Philip himself, who long before he had

¹ For the trial of Montigny, see *Documentos Ineditos*.

completed his twentieth year reigned as viceroy of Spain under Charles V. The queen, who exercised great influence over the mind of her step-son, professed strictly orthodox opinions; and felt not the slightest sympathy towards the German or French reformers. Her frequent counsel to her mother during the first troubles in France, had been "to punish and to exterminate heresy." Elizabeth by no means was the gentle, subdued and oppressed being, which it has been the fashion to represent her; and had her life been prolonged, she doubtless would have become a political personage of moment. She possessed the lofty spirit of her illustrious ancestor Francis I.; and her opinions, for her age, were developed and firmly asserted. Her will was strong; and her position in her husband's court, one of influence and honour. Don Carlos frequently conversed with Elizabeth on Flemish affairs; and the French ambassador relates that in many subsequent conversations with her majesty on politics, and on the alliance with Austria, the prince formed a third party in the debate. One day, at this period, Don Carlos accompanied Elizabeth during a rural excursion for air and exercise. Remarking that the prince sat immersed in deep thought, the queen asked him the subject of his meditation. "Madame," replied Don Carlos, "my thoughts were roving two hundred miles far away, in a very distant country." What country, Monseigneur? asked the queen. "I was thinking of

my cousin, madame," rejoined Don Carlos, with a sigh, and looking fixedly at the queen as he spoke.¹ Elizabeth never seems to have encouraged these matrimonial designs and allusions; she doubtless comprehended the depth of the aversion felt by the king towards his son, whose disregard of the decencies and amenities of life, disgusted and incensed a monarch so careful of appearances. The prince, however, always retired from the queen's presence comforted and soothed; the tenderness of her womanly pity was grateful to him, whom all feared and betrayed. "Often the prince was heard vehemently to declare with marks of great emotion after quitting the apartments of queen Isabel his step-mother, that the king his father had done a bad and a cruel thing to have robbed him of her," writes de Thou. "He deemed her gentle, lovely, and wise," says Brantôme, "and in truth she was one of the brightest and most peerless princesses in the world."

About the middle of May, 1566, the duke of Alba, Don Juan Manrique, and the duque de Osuna, waited upon Elizabeth to notify that it had been the invariable custom of her predecessors, the queens of Spain, to make their wills on entering the sixth month of their pregnancy, and to beseech her majesty that she would be pleased to comply with the custom. Elizabeth received the nobles with the greatest courtesy, and at once acceded to the proposal. The French

¹ Régistres des Dépêches de St. Sulpice—MS. Bibl. Imp. F., f. 9746, t. 3.—Lettre Secrète à la royne mère.—Ined.

ambassador, however, was moved with intense indignation, when he heard of what had been demanded, which he averred was an unheard of and shameful proposition in the queen's situation. During her malady in 1564, Elizabeth made her will, in which, by her husband's desire, she had bequeathed all that she possessed to Catherine de Medici. That document de Fourquevaulx knew was still in existence; and it, doubtless, appeared to him unnecessary that she should be called upon to revoke a testament already so satisfactorily dictated. "I represented this to her majesty," writes the persevering Fourquevaulx. "and reminded her again of what she owes to the king, and to yourself, madame, suggesting that, perchance, it was wished that she should dictate this document again to leave bequests to her favourite ladies." Her majesty replied, "that when she had dictated the said will formerly, her body was so agonized with pain, that she knew not what she had bequeathed; but that this time she would take counsel and thought on the subject."¹ The ambassador added that he had not presumed to press the queen more on the subject; but that he advised Catherine to write to her daughter. Elizabeth's reply was a singular one: she evidently was not satisfied with her will of 1564, and intended to make some alteration; but whether to revoke her bequest to Catherine, or to supply omissions relative to her ladies, does not appear. Catherine expressed herself as greatly disconcerted at the request made to

¹ *Dépêches de Fourquevaulx*—MSS. Bibl. Imp., p. 169.—1ned.

her daughter to prepare her will. "As it seems to me to be an unheard of thing so to afflict and perplex the mind of a young woman, in the condition of my said daughter; you will, therefore, M. l'ambassadeur do your utmost to console and encourage her, that she may take full confidence and support in the mercy of God, to bring all things to happy issue."¹ Orders were, meantime, issued to the great officers of state to proceed with the necessary formalities usual for giving effect to the document about to be signed by her majesty. The condesa de Urueña and Don Juan Manrique, were each commanded to furnish inventories of her majesty's jewels, wardrobe, and furniture. The framing of the will was intrusted to Elizabeth's confessor, Fray Luis de Pacheco, who drew the document conformably with instructions delivered to him, and signed by the king and queen. The public signature of the document was postponed until after the arrival of their majesties at El Bosque de Segovia, where it had been decided that Elizabeth's *accouchement* should take place.

An important change, meantime, occurred in Elizabeth's household at this period. The condesa de Urueña resigned her office of *camaréra-mayor*, and was replaced by the duchess of Alba. The causes of the condesa's resignation are nowhere on record; her advancing years may have rendered her incompetent to comply with the obsequious ceremonies incumbent upon one who occupied the chief post

¹ Dépêches de Fourquevaux. MSS. Bibl. p. 311.—Ined.

in the household of a Spanish queen; or, perhaps, the dissensions which always subsisted between the duchess of Alba and herself, might have led to her retirement. It wounded the haughty and ambitious wife of Alba, to acknowledge a superior in the royal household; or to be compelled to cede the *pas* in court ceremonies. One other supposition remains, that as the condesa resigned, or was deprived of her office of *camaréra*, at the period when lists were commanded to be furnished of Elizabeth's effects, under the control of the mistress of the robes, it is possible that the king was not contented with the manner in which she had discharged the functions of her office. The appointment of the duchess of Alba as *camaréra*, gave great displeasure to Catherine de Medici; she says in a letter to Fourquevaulx; "We must try to receive her, who has been appointed to the office recently filled by the condesa de Urueña, with as good a grace as may be; as it has pleased those in power to nominate her. I believe, and trust, however, that this appointment has been made with the full sanction and consent of the queen, my daughter."¹ The princess of Eboli accepted the post of first lady of honour, vacated by the duchess of Alba.

At the commencement of June, 1566, the king nominated the personages who were to proceed to El Bosque, and to be present at the *accouchement* of Elizabeth. The duchess of Alba speedily gave her

¹ Dépêches de Fourquevaulx—MS. Bibl. Imp., p. 311. Lettre de la royne.

sovereigns a specimen of her overbearing temper. She was nominated first on the list of ladies selected to proceed with the queen to Segovia. The duchess, thereupon, wrote to Don Juan Manrique, to ask what lodgings had been assigned to her at El Bosque. Upon being informed, she declared the accommodation insufficient, and unworthy of her dignity. The duchess made such a clamour about her pretensions, that the queen indignantly requested to be permitted to dispense with the services of the new *camaréra*, during her sojourn at El Bosque. Philip, out of regard for the health of his consort, assented; but so mild a demonstration of his displeasure, would only have been evinced towards the consort of the favoured Alba. The princess of Eboli, being likewise, near her *accouchement*, was excused from attending in the suite of the queen. Doña Aña Fasardo, wife of the *mayor-domo-mayor*, a lady much beloved by Elizabeth, the marquesa de Cenete, Doña Elvira Carrilla, madame de Vineux, Don Juan Manrique, the Prior Don Antonio de Toledo, and the duke and duchess de Naxara, were the most distinguished persons chosen to accompany the queen. The king also decided that the prince, Don Carlos, should proceed with Elizabeth to El Bosque, attended by Ruy Gomez, and others of his household. The presence of his son in Madrid, where the Flemish envoys were detained under honourable surveillance, occasioned great anxiety to Philip, and this decision was, perhaps, a politic one; but at any rate it proves

that the king felt no misgivings relative to the nature of the *liaison* subsisting between the prince and his young mother-in-law.

On the 14th of May, Philip quitted Madrid, and proceeded to Segovia, to inspect the arrangements made there for the reception of his court. On the 17th, Elizabeth commenced her journey, which she happily accomplished, arriving at El Bosque about the end of the month. The ambassador, Fourquevaux, represented the condition of her health to be excellent; he, moreover, stated that her features, though thinner, were more lovely than ever; and that the enthusiasm with which she was everywhere greeted, could not be surpassed. Before Elizabeth quitted Madrid, she despatched madame la Couture, who had again become one of her *azafatas*, or wardrobe women, to St. Germain, to notify to her mother the satisfactory condition of her health; and to give Catherine the full and perfect detail of events at the Spanish court, which the queen-mother so importunately demanded.

Elizabeth was received at El Bosque by Philip, the duque de Alba, and Don John of Austria. The princess Doña Juana arrived on the same day from Aranjuez, where she had been sojourning for some time with the two archdukes, her nephews. A few days after the arrival of the court at Segovia, Elizabeth signed her will in the presence of the king and others, including the French ambassador. After the ceremony was over, the queen called de Fourquevaux,

and showing him the seal which she had affixed with her own hand to the document, said, with great composure of manner, "M. l'ambassadeur, you perceive that it has been my pleasure, following the custom of all Spanish women, to commend my soul to God, and to make order concerning my bodily goods, whilst I am strong, and in good health."¹ Elizabeth, however, did not communicate the contents of the document to any one; but delivered it herself to the keeping of the duque de Osuna, who deposited it among the archives of the council of state.

The king remained at El Bosque for a few days; he then took leave, promising to return before the 14th of July, to stay with his consort until she was again able to travel. It having been rumoured at court that the duke d'Anjou was likely to avail himself of his sister's *accouchement* to visit Spain, and make personal acquaintance with Doña Juana, the king, before his departure, commanded that his apartments at El Bosque should be prepared for the duke, while his majesty reserved for his own occupation, as accommodation was limited in the palace, a suite of small rooms adjacent to the queen's lodgings. The visit of the duke was unpalatable to Philip; who, though he did not refuse to receive his brother-in-law, made no overture of welcome. Everybody, therefore, disclaimed knowledge of the duke's intentions; the king asked Elizabeth publicly, "Whether it were true that her brother was coming to visit her?" The queen

¹ Dépêches de Fourquevaux—MSS. Bibl. Imp., p. 326.

replied, "that she did not know." The king, afterwards, made response to all inquiries on the subject, "her majesty possesses no information of such visit." The ambassador, Fourquevaulx, taking hint by the tone of the court, also affected ignorance of the duke's intentions; he, however, privately advised Catherine not to sanction the journey of the prince.¹ The king's coldness possibly resulted from the repugnance displayed by Doña Juana, to be made an object of ridicule to her brother's ceremonious courtiers, by suffering the attentions of her profligate boy-suitor. Moreover, the dissipated habits and modes of life of the duke d'Anjou, were only too congenial to the tastes of the prince Don Carlos, to render much intercourse between them desirable.

Elizabeth, during the absence of the king, who returned to Madrid to preside at the councils daily summoned to discuss the affairs of the Netherlands, found her sojourn at Segovia very wearisome, notwithstanding the goodly assemblage around her. Every other day her majesty despatched a page to Madrid, the bearer of letters to the king, and to Fourquevaulx. Philip never omitted to write daily to his consort: so pathetic, however, were Elizabeth's complaints of her loneliness during the absence of her lord, and sorrowful her reproach that a courier had recently arrived from France, without bringing her letters from the queen her mother, that Fourquevaulx sought to console her by sending, for her perusal,

¹ *Dépêches de Fourquevaulx.* MSS. Bibl. Imp., p. 329.

a packet of despatches some time ago addressed to him by queen Catherine.

The Spanish doctors, meanwhile, and Doña Aña Fasardo, engaged themselves, during this interval, in making diligent selection of a wet-nurse for Elizabeth's expected infant. At one time there were fifty candidates to solicit the honour of this office. It was necessary that each lady should be furnished with an elaborate pedigree, to prove that she was free from the defilement of Jewish or Moorish blood; she had, likewise, to submit a certificate of her birth, her marriage, and her health; also a testimonial from the bishop of the diocese in which she resided, stating that no taint of heresy branded her family, or evil report affected her character. From all these ladies, three only were declared duly competent and selected; and each of these forthwith received orders to be ready at any moment to repair to the palace, when her majesty should have decided upon which lady to bestow the much coveted appointment.¹

The king returned to El Bosque, on the 14th of July. The royal pair afterwards passed much of their time together in seclusion. Philip's studious habits were conformed to cheerfully by Elizabeth; and whilst the king meditated over his despatches, she sat working tapestry by his side. Probably it was from Elizabeth's cabinet, when softened by the influence of his beautiful young wife, and won by the pleadings of her womanly pity, that Philip

¹ Fourquevaux, *Dépêches*, p. 352.—Ined.

wrote his celebrated despatch to Marguerite of Parma, dated from "El Bosque de Segovia, 31 de Julio, 1566," engaging to moderate the rigour of the edicts in force throughout the Low Countries; to abolish there the tribunal of the Holy Office; and, most important of all, to concede to the regent the power of pardon to all whom she deemed worthy of the royal grace.¹ The despatch containing these merciful concessions, unhappily, was no sooner despatched to the Low Countries, then the king repented of his clemency. The following day, with a perfidy which it is impossible sufficiently to execrate, Philip summoned a notary, and in his presence and that of several of his counsellors, he averred "he had not given the Regent power to pardon of his own free will; and, therefore, did not intend to be bound by the engagement; but that he reserved to himself full liberty hereafter, to punish the leaders of sedition in the Low Countries,"² The king, moreover, wrote to explain the real nature of his policy towards "the Flemish rebels" to pope Pius V—a pontiff whom he so greatly venerated, that Quintana relates that Philip never passed a portrait of his Holiness, suspended in his gallery at El Pardo, without reverently taking off his hat.

Madame la Couture returned during the month of July to Spain, and proceeded straight to Segovia to

¹ Reiffenberg, *Correspondence de Marguerite d'Autriche*, p. 100. *Lettre de Philippe II. à la duchesse Régente.*

² *Correspondence de Philippe II.*, vol. i.—Gachard.

deliver the despatches with which she had been intrusted for their Catholic majesties. Catherine sent a memorial to Montguyon, Elizabeth's first physician, in which she had inserted the recipes for a variety of pleasant and cooling beverages of French and Italian compound. Her majesty also addressed her son-in-law, and counsels him to insist that the queen his wife, conforms very minutely to the advice of her physicians ; she also regrets her inability to visit Spain, to be with her daughter during her *accouchement*. " I beseech you most earnestly, M. mon fils, by the love which you bear the queen your wife, to command that she takes daily exercise in the open air ; and in other respects, obeys the advice given by her physicians and ladies."¹ Catherine directs the French ambassador to take up his abode in the town of Segovia, during the residence of the court at El Bosque, and to despatch a courier to her every eight days.

Elizabeth, meantime, seems to have enjoyed herself greatly amid the beautiful scenery and woodlands of Segovia. Every day she took exercise on foot and in a litter, accompanied by the king, or by his sister ; often by both. The gardens of Valsain, or El Bosque, were encircled by the waters of the beautiful Eresma, a stream renowned throughout Spain, for its excellent trout. Elizabeth, one day, it is recorded, early in the month of August, amused herself for

¹ Catherine de Medici à Philippe II.—Simancas, MS. K. 1393, B. 20, No. 121.—Ined.

several hours in catching trout; laughing very heartily the while with her ladies. A collation of fruit was afterwards brought, and partaken of by the queen and her ladies on the picturesque banks of the stream. The fatigue of the pastime, however, nearly produced disastrous results. The queen was taken ill on her return to the palace, and was carried to her apartments in a fainting fit. The physicians were summoned, and the whole palace was soon in confusion. Gradually, however, the queen revived, and afterwards she passed a good night. The anxiety of Philip was so great, that while Elizabeth reposed, he came softly to her bedside five times during the night, to satisfy himself that she was going on well, and that her attendants were vigilant.¹ The following day, fishing parties were interdicted until after the queen's *accouchement*; and some check was besides imposed upon the queen's spirit of lively enterprise.

The deportment of Don Carlos, during this interval, seems to have been exemplary; for although he was an inmate of El Bosque, his name is never mentioned disparagingly in the despatches of de Fourquevaulx, who had been sent by Catherine de Medici to Segovia, to retail to her the events and gossip of the court.

¹ Fourquevaulx, *Dépêches Bibl. Imp.*, p. 359, 365.—Ined.

CHAPTER IV.

Birth of the Infanta Doña Isabel—Anxiety shown by king Philip for the restoration of the queen's health—Interview between the king and queen and the French ambassador—The queen falls ill of fever—Baptism of the infanta—Second interview between Elizabeth and de Fourquevaux—Their conversation—Troubles in the Low Countries—Project of the king's journey to Brussels—Departure of Philip for El Poular—Relapse of the queen—Return of the king to El Bosque—Disastrous news arrives at Segovia from the regent of the Netherlands—Council of State—Illness of the king—Excitement of Don Carlos—Correspondence between Philip and Catherine de Medici—Letter of the queen to the duchess de Nemours—Presents sent by Catherine to her grandchild—Return of the royal pair to Madrid—Violent proceedings of the prince—The Flemish envoys in Madrid—Conference between Don Carlos and the Council of State—Pecuniary embarrassments of the queen's household—King Philip demands permission from the French Government to traverse France on his road to the Netherlands—He convokes the Cortès of Castile—Don Carlos enters the assembly—His threatening harangue—Conduct of the deputies—The king determines to despatch the duke of Alba to the Low Countries—Interview between the duke and the prince of Spain—Anecdotes concerning the prince—Pregnancy of the queen—Negotiations are renewed with the Court of Vienna for the marriage of the prince with the archduchess Anne—Presents sent to the princess by king Philip and Don Carlos—Critical position of the prince—Birth of the Infanta Doña Catalina—Letter of king Philip to his ambassador in France—Baptism of the princess—Condition of the court of Spain.

ON Tuesday, the 12th day of August, St. Clara's Day, the event for which so much preparation had

been made occurred, and the queen of Spain gave birth to a daughter. Her majesty's *accouchement* happened about six o'clock in the morning, under most favourable circumstances. The king showed devoted attention to his consort; he sat by her side throughout the night preceding the birth of the infanta, holding one of her hands clasped in his own; and administered to her frequently a cordial beverage, concocted from one of the recipes sent by Catherine de Medici, and which Elizabeth had insisted upon trying. Soon after the infanta was born, Philip took the child in his arms, and embraced it with great show of affection; he then laid it gently on his wife's pillow, "when her majesty contemplated madame l'infante, with great demonstration of tenderness."¹ The king then turning towards the attendants in the apartment, said distinctly, in the hearing of the duke of Alba, the prince of Eboli, and others who were in an adjoining chamber—"I am more thankful and delighted to receive this princess my dear daughter, than any son which might have been born to the queen my consort, and to myself!" Philip then thanked in most cordial terms Doña Aña Fasardo, consort of Don Juan Manrique, for the attentions which she had lavished upon the queen during her labour; "and, in truth," says the French ambassador, "Doña Aña served her majesty as if she had been only a simple *femme-de-chambre*, instead of

¹ Dépêches de Fourquevaux, p. 387. Lettre à la royne mère, Bibl. Imp. Suppl. F. MSS.—Ined.

a great princess ; and she deserves madame, to receive a good letter of thanks from your majesty *also.”¹ After embracing the queen, and entreating her to take consolation in the prospect of her approaching convalescence, the king quitted Elizabeth’s chamber, and proceeded to the private chapel to return thanks to God for his consort’s safety ; after which a *Te Deum* was chanted in the presence of the court. Philip next summoned a council, when letters announcing the birth of an *infanta* were prepared, to be despatched to the various corporate bodies of the realm ; and to all the ambassadors of Spain at foreign courts.

Don Carlos showed much pleasure when he learned Elizabeth’s safety, and joined fervently in the thanksgiving service : he, however, added, “ that he was glad the queen’s offspring was not a son.” Much confusion presently prevailed at El Bosque, however, when it was discovered that there was no wet nurse for the *infanta*. Elizabeth, by some oversight, had never decided between the rival claimants ; and Spanish etiquette was too stringent for any one about her majesty to venture to give commands on the subject. Philip was, at length, appealed to after he quitted the chapel where his devotions had been long. The case was urgent ; and after much consideration, it was determined to send for the wife of one of the ushers of the queen’s chamber, and to commit the

¹ *Dépêches de Fourquevaux*, p. 387. *Lettre à la royne mère*.—*Bibl. Imp. Suppl. F. MSS.*—*Ined.*

little *infanta* to her care. With this nurse, however, the babe still seemed to pine; and before night-fall, to the indescribable grief of the king, she appeared to be in a dying condition. The misfortune was carefully concealed from Elizabeth; but again the zealous service of Doña Aña demonstrated itself. She, herself, took charge of the child throughout the night, watching over it with maternal eye; and armed with the necessary authority from the king, she sent for one of the three ladies, Doña Beatriz de Mendoza, whose claims to the care of the *infanta* had been favourably reported upon by the physicians, and installed her in office, under her own immediate superintendence.¹ The king paid five visits to his consort during the course of the day after his daughter's birth, cheering Elizabeth by pleasant discourse: it is added that Philip, as before, kept vigilant guard during the night, entering the queen's chamber with stealthy step to assure himself that she was properly waited upon in the absence of Doña Aña Fasardo, who fulfilled the offices of *camaréra* in the absence of the duchess of Alba.

The ambassador Fourquevaulx, on the day following the queen's *accouchement*, proceeded to El Bosque to congratulate Philip. During the afternoon of the same day, he was conducted to the door of Elizabeth's chamber, by Don Diego de Cordova, that he might be able, on the evidence of his own senses, to transmit

¹ Fourquevaulx à la royne mère. MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. F., p. 387. —Ined.

a good account of the condition of the queen of Spain to his sovereigns. The queen was reposing on a bed placed under a pavilion of crimson damask, magnificently fringed with gold, and ornamented with heraldic devices. The walls of the apartment were draped with scarlet velvet, striped with a broad embroidery of gold thread. It so happened that the king sat at the head of the bed, reclining in a velvet chair, and when the ambassador paid his visit, he was conversing with the queen. Philip courteously acknowledged the presence of the ambassador, and signed for him to approach. "His majesty then said, 'that he was sure her Christian majesty would rejoice to hear of her daughter's happy delivery, as she had been so greatly afflicted by care on her account. He hoped that very shortly her majesty would be convalescent, so that joy might reign without alloy in both courts.' The queen then asked me, with her accustomed sweet smile, 'whether my courier would soon reach your majesty with the tidings?' I replied, that on Monday or Tuesday next, (August 18th) your majesty would without fail be in possession of the news. I then exhorted her majesty to hasten her recovery; and expatiated on the joy which would be felt by you madame, and the whole of France, when they heard of her safety, and of the birth of a fair princess." Elizabeth replied, that it had always been indifferent to her whether she became the mother of a prince or of a princess, "but now, monseigneur, I rejoice greatly that it is the

latter, as the king, my lord and husband declares himself to be better satisfied with a daughter." Elizabeth was then requested by Philip not to converse longer; she, therefore, merely prayed the ambassador to report her good condition, which he had seen with his own eyes, to the queen her mother; and not to fail to pay a visit to madame l'infante, before he quitted the palace. "I accordingly obeyed her majesty," writes de Fourquevaulx, "and found her royal highness very magnificently lodged, about five or six chambers distance from her mother's. She was fast asleep, lying under a canopy of crimson velvet, fringed with gold. Without flattery, madame, I may report that the infanta is a very pretty child, having an ample forehead, rather a large nose like that of her father, whom she likewise resembles in the feature of her mouth, and she is considered a great child for her age. In short, madame, the infanta's features and complexion promise great beauty and brilliancy; and the skin of her face is smooth and free from blemishes."¹

The queen continued to progress very favourably until Friday 16th, when she fell ill of quartan fever, which malady was very prevalent at Segovia and its neighbourhood, and had already smitten many of the courtiers. The French ambassador suffered from its debilitating effects after his arrival at Segovia, and only entirely got rid of the fever when the court departed thence. El Bosque was damp and low; the

¹ Lettre de Fourquevaulx à la royne mère, p. 387.—Ined.

neighbouring grounds were marshy, and covered with wood; and the intense heat of the sun generated a miasma, which seems to have had a most calamitous effect on all subject to its noxious influences.

The Spanish physicians insisted on bleeding their royal patient, which was accordingly done. The following day, they proposed to draw more blood by cupping, as the access of fever during the night had been unusually severe. Elizabeth, however, absolutely refused to submit to this rough treatment, and desired to try the effect of the nostrums recommended by her mother—" *Ces médecins Espagnols ont méprisé la plupart, comme grosses bêtes qu'ils sont, n'ayant rien que présomption et arrogance en eux,*" writes the French ambassador in indignant strains, whilst he recounted to his royal mistress the manner in which her daughter's health was tampered with by these ignorant professors. In fact, to peruse the list of all the remedies administered to the queen, the wonder is that a breath of life was left in her; for Elizabeth's sufferings from intermittent fever, and other causes were most severe. Fourquevaulx was very assiduous in his attendance at El Bosque, and was frequently admitted to discourse with the queen, that he might judge of her condition and progress towards convalescence himself. Elizabeth was very proud of her daughter, and asked one day, whether the ambassador had sent a description of the infanta to her mother. Fourquevaulx replied that he had, and described her highness as marvellously fat and

blonde, but that he should be better able to see her highness's features at the approaching ceremony of her baptism."¹

This rite was celebrated on Sunday the 24th of August. A great debate, meantime, had arisen between the bishop of Segovia and the archbishop of Santiago, upon the question as to which of these prelates it appertained to perform the ceremony. The bishop of Segovia grounded his right on the fact that the princess was born in his diocese; the archbishop averred, that being grand almoner of Spain, the privilege to perform all ecclesiastical ceremonies at court appertained to him, unless otherwise ordained by his majesty. When Philip was made acquainted with the dispute, he proceeded to solve it in a very characteristic manner. He requested the Papal legate, the cardinal archbishop of Rossano² to perform the baptismal ceremony; and commanded the two recusant prelates of Santiago and Segovia to attend in the train of the nuncio.³ The ceremony was not performed with much pomp; nor was the public admitted to view the procession. The French ambassador was the only foreign envoy present. The godfather of the infanta, was the prince Don Carlos, and the godmother, Doña Juana. The latter appear-

¹ Lettre de Fourquevaulx à la royne mère—Suppl. F. Bibl. Imp., 225. —Ined.

² Baptisto Castaneo, cardinal-archbishop of Rossano, elevated to the tiara A.D. 1590, and assumed the title of Urban VII.

³ Lettre de Fourquevaulx, MS. Suppl. F., p. 307. Florez, *Vidas de la Reynas Catolicas*. Ferreras, *Hist. de España*, p. 527.

ed arrayed very gorgeously, in robes of black velvet embroidered with pearls; the princess also wore a rich zone, and necklace of fine goldsmith's work presented to her by Catherine de Medici. A great train of ladies sumptuously attired, and decked with jewels attended the princess; and as they stood in semicircle on the platform upon which the ceremony was performed, they presented, according to De Fourquevaulx, a very imposing spectacle. The little infanta was borne from her mother's apartment to the chapel in the arms of Don John of Austria. She was enveloped in a gorgeous mantle of cloth of silver, the train of which was borne by Doña Ana Fasardo, and by Doña Elvira Carrillo, a lady who had been nominated to the post of *governante* by their majesties. Prince Don Carlos and Doña Juana followed, both looking very joyous and magnificent. Next marched the archdukes Rodolph and Ernest: then came the gentlemen of the court, each conducting a lady. Strains of harmonious music and chanting greeted the procession as it defiled up the choir to the high altar, preceded by the nuncio, Castaneo, and by mitred prelates attired in rich copes. The king viewed the ceremony, looking down from a glazed gallery to the right of the altar. When the officiating prelate demanded the name of the infanta, Doña Juana stepped forwards and named her Isabel Clara Eugénia.¹

¹ Négociations de Fourquevaulx—MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. F., p. 301—Ined. Florez, Vidas de la Reynas Catolicas.

The queen, subsequently, explained to the French ambassador that her daughter was named Isabel, in honour of her great ancestress, Isabel the Catholic, and of Isabel, consort of the emperor Charles V. Clara, because she was born on the fête day of Santa Clara; and Eugénia, in performance of the vow the queen had made at Getafe kneeling by the shrine of San Eugénio. When the ceremony terminated, the infanta was borne back again to the apartment of the queen, by Don John, followed only by Don Carlos, the Princess, the ambassador De Fourquevaulx, the duke of Alba, Eboli, and the ladies in waiting. The queen was reclining, supported by pillows, on a magnificent couch, having hangings of cloth of gold lined with crimson taffeta. She wore a robe of white satin trimmed with lace: and over the counterpane of her bed was laid a gorgeous royal mantle of purple velvet furred with ermine. Elizabeth looked pale and exhausted from the noise and excitement of the ceremonial; also she had been much fatigued by having her hair dressed, "for," says the minute Fourquevaulx, "her majesty had a singular desire on this occasion to have her head adorned in a becoming fashion."¹ By the side of the couch sat king Philip. Don John advanced and tenderly deposited the infanta on the couch close to her majesty; then with a profound obeisance he withdrew, after speaking words of congratulation to the royal pair. Don Carlos and Doña Juana then advanced and presented

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaulx*.—MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. F., p. 301. Florez, *Vidas de la Reynas Catolicas*.

their felicitations with great warmth ; even the prince seemed enthusiastic in praise of his tiny sister, so rejoiced was he to behold the queen. De Fourquevaulx next approached and complimented their majesties. Elizabeth gave him her hand to kiss ; and bade him transmit intelligence to their Christian Majesties of the baptism of the Infanta, and of her own convalescence. The ambassador then retiring to make room for other high personages, the queen caused him to be commanded to wait in the palace until after the ceremony was over, as she wished to converse with him. Accordingly, when the king had quitted Elizabeth's chamber, she sent for De Fourquevaulx. The ambassador commenced the discourse, by inquiring after her majesty's condition. Elizabeth replied ; " that during the last three days she had suffered no return of fever." " Then, madame," responded Fourquevaulx, " as your majesty feels such relief from pain, and has so good hope of speedy recovery, will it not please you, that I despatch a courier to notify such to their majesties in France ?" " Yes ;" replied the queen, " and I pray you M. l'ambassadeur not to forget to add my loving commendations ; and to say that I have suffered very severely since the birth of the infanta." Elizabeth then anxiously asked, when her mother would have learned the birth of her daughter ? the ambassador answered ; " Madame, her Christian majesty would hear the news about the 20th."¹

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaulx*, p. 301, et suivants.—Ined.

As the queen appeared to bear the discourse very well, and to take pleasure in it, the ambassador proceeded to initiate her into the political gossip of the court, since she had taken to her chamber. The great topic had been the armed demonstration in the Netherlands; the resentment shown by Philip, and the consternation of his ministers. By the command of Catherine her envoy had taken every possible means to ascertain whether Philip intended to proceed to Brussels in person. On the day previous to the baptism of the infanta, Fourquevaux, in a parley with Ruy Gomez, mentioned the subject, and requested to know what were his Spanish majesty's intentions. The prince replied that it was certain Philip intended to repair to Flanders, "to put down the rebellion of his subjects," and that his majesty's journey would not be long deferred. He had advised his majesty to travel in company with the queen, and to take his route through France. This advice was altogether too much in accord with the desire of the French court not to induce the suspicion that Eboli, to rid himself of the inconvenient queries put by the ambassador, had availed himself of the talent for which he was renowned of saying agreeable things, and of always dismissing people from his presence content and satisfied. Upon this journey, therefore, the ambassador turned his discourse with the queen. "Madame," said he, "as I perceive that now your health is improving fast, I shall have no hesitation in imparting a piece of intelli-

gence which I have lately heard ; the more so, as it directly interests your majesty. It is that the king your husband is on the eve of immediate departure for Flanders ; and therefore, if your majesty desires to accompany him, it will be requisite for you to lose no time in undertaking the necessary preliminaries with his majesty.” “Is the rumour of this journey so very universal, M. l’ambassadeur ?” asked the queen. “It is general, madame, throughout your court : moreover, I know, that his Catholic majesty has confessed and imparted this intent to a high personage here.” “Really !” replied Elizabeth, “I should indeed sorrow greatly to be left behind after the departure of my lord the king ; assure yourself that I will do all in my power to beseech and persuade his majesty to take me with him.”¹ The intimate confidence which existed between Philip and his consort, renders it improbable that Elizabeth should have been first indebted to the ambassador for news of her husband’s probable proceedings derived from the gossip of the court. Doubtless she was previously well-acquainted with the politics which then agitated Philip’s cabinet ; and that she sympathized in her husband’s sentiments relative to the religious cabals in the Low Countries, is almost as certain. The sentiments of Alba and of Eboli on the Flemish revolt divided the cabinet. The former advocated measures of stern retribution, blood,

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaulx*, p. 301. *Lettre à la royne mère, datée de Segovie le 26 d’Aoust, 1566.*—Ined.

proscription, and the establishment of the Inquisition in all its horrors : Eboli, chivalrous and courtly, prayed his royal master to transfer his residence to Brussels, that the personal *prestige* of royalty, combined with the piety and example of the sovereigns might win over the nobles and dissipate Calvinistic asceticism, by the seductive pageantries of a court the most magnificent in Europe. Elizabeth's wishes, as far as they can be discerned in her correspondence and in that of the French ambassador, coincided with the advice tendered by Ruy Gomez : she desired the suppression of heresy ; yet her compassionate nature inclined towards merciful and persuasive remedy. The queen, continuing her discourse with De Fourquevaux, next informed him why her daughter had received her baptismal names, which she commanded the ambassador to explain to her mother.

The news of the queen's safe *accouchement* was received with rapture by the French ; though Catherine regretted that her daughter had not given birth to a son. Even at this comparatively early period, the letters from the French court cast doubt on the eventual accession of Don Carlos, as if some *arrière pensée* of Philip's relative to his unfortunate son, had been divined, or communicated to Catherine de Medici ; or that the mental vagaries of the prince were so palpable, as notoriously to render doubtful his chances of succession. The queen informs her ambassador, that the king had despatched the marquis

de St. Sulpice to carry letters to Segovia to the king and queen: she adds: "Monsieur de Fourquevaulx, you have indeed greatly consoled us by the letters which have arrived to-day, announcing the safe delivery of my daughter; for until we received such, we were on thorns of apprehension. I praise God, who in His mercy has delivered her from peril. Nevertheless, we should have been more joyous still had her majesty's offspring been a son: but yet as the mother and child are doing well, we have reason to thank the Almighty." She then expresses her sorrow to learn that the queen had been attacked with fever; and she desires the ambassador to despatch a special courier and even two or three if requisite, every week, until the queen was able to resume her usual employments.¹ Catherine, on the same day, granted audience to Don Francisco de Alava, who came officially to notify the happy event. "The queen," writes the Spanish ambassador to his royal master, "expressed great satisfaction at the happy delivery of the Catholic queen; but hoped that God might still give your majesty more sons. She said that she was greatly afflicted at the news she had received of the sickness of the queen our mistress, and prays your majesty to send couriers to this court, with frequent intelligence of her majesty's health. Her Christian majesty, moreover, said, that she had been well informed of the solicitude which your

¹ Dépêche de Catherine de Medici à M. de Fourquevaulx, MSS. Bibl. Imp., p. 422.—Ined.

majesty felt relative to her own health and the service that you have lately rendered her, for the which she felt infinite obligation, and hoped that an opportunity might occur to return the same to your Majesty."

As the queen continued to make favourable progress, and the French envoy extraordinary, St Sulpice, was not expected for some ten days, Philip resolved to depart for a few days from the fever-giving atmosphere of El Bosque, where all the nobles and ladies were falling ill in turn of ague, and take recreation at El Escorial.

For some reason, however, the king journeyed only half-way to El Escorial, and took up his abode in the magnificent Carthusian monastery of El Paular. Fourquevaux insinuates that Philip found it impossible to place so great a distance between himself and his young consort: and, therefore, remained at la Grande Chartreuse which was only a day's journey from El Bosque. The Carthusians of Paular were, but with one exception, the most wealthy community in Spain. Their flocks and herds covered the beautiful valley of Lenzoyala; and their princely revenues enabled them to keep open board and to give hospitality to all suppliants at their gates. The chapel of the monastery was especially rich in gems of art, the gifts of successive sovereigns, and of the chieftains of Frias, whose mausoleum was at El Paular. The monastery was situated on the Guaderrama chain; and doubtless, the king expected to derive benefit from the salubrious mountain breezes. Philip, however,

remained only four days at the monastery, and returned in great haste to Valsain, as unfavourable reports had been brought him, during this interval, of Elizabeth's condition.

The close and marshy atmosphere of El Bosque continued to exercise pernicious influence on the health of the young queen. Although the summer was at its height and the heat most oppressive, she was doomed, by the mandate of her physicians, to remain pent up in her chamber which was draped with scarlet velvet; nor was she suffered to leave her bed. The result of this treatment was, that after Philip's departure, Elizabeth's feverish restlessness brought on another attack of ague. The physicians thereupon administered a conserve of the roots of flax. The following day, Sunday, September 1st, there was a slight improvement in Elizabeth's condition: during the afternoon she was carried from her couch, and laid upon mattresses placed before a fire, whilst her bed was made. The physicians then wished her majesty to return to bed; but the poor patient showed such eagerness to remain where she was, that her wishes were gratified. The change, slight as it was, proved beneficial; for the next morning the queen was better, and breakfasted with appetite upon a *potage* of broth mixed with pearl barley. In the evening, to Elizabeth's great joy, the king unexpectedly returned. Without any pause whatever, Philip, on dismounting from his horse went straight to the queen's apartment. He embraced Elizabeth very tenderly, and then pro-

ceeded to look at the infanta, and carried her to the queen; their majesties afterwards remaining a long time together.¹

This little daughter always remained the king's idol throughout life; and next to Elizabeth, who was loved by Philip with a devotion he never afterwards bestowed upon another, the infanta eventually possessed more of her father's confidence than any other personage. In his old age, it was upon the arm of Elizabeth's daughter that Philip loved to rest: and to the eldest child of his most beloved consort, the king by his will made the splendid bequest of the Low Countries in heritage. When Isabel was little more than three months old, Philip caused her to be affianced to the archduke Rodolph, eldest son of the Emperor;² yet such was the king's attachment for his daughter that, during her father's life, the infanta remained unmarried that she might not be compelled to quit Spain. For the advancement and prosperity of the infanta, Philip undertook some of his most famous enterprises. He promoted the civil wars of the League in France against Henri IV., chiefly with the view of placing the diadem of her mother's ancestors on the brow of Isabel. When this design failed in consequence of the universal ac-

¹ *Dépêches de Fourquevaulx*, p. 433—MS. Bibl. Imp.—Ined.

² The infanta Isabel married eventually not the emperor Rodolph, but his brother, the archduke Albert. Rodolph never married. His mind was also affected by the insanity of his race. He devoted himself to the study of alchemy and astrology, living a life of seclusion, disturbed by constant apprehensions of falling by the hand of an assassin.

ceptance by the French nation of the chivalrous Henri for their sovereign, Philip was heard to express regret that his son, the offspring of a fourth alliance, was destined to wear the crown of Spain to the exclusion of his beloved daughter¹.

On the evening of his return from El Paular, Philip felt much indisposed. The physicians attributed the king's indisposition to a cold taken by the sudden change from the oppressive atmosphere of Segovia, to the keen air of the Guadarrama mountains ; and to mental anxiety concerning the news just received from Brussels. On Sunday, September 1st, despatches had arrived at Segovia from the duchess of Parma, addressed to the king and the duke of Alba, which occasioned much consternation. "Madame," wrote Fourquevaux, to the queen-mother of France, "a courier arrived on Sunday last from Madame de Parme, bringing extraordinary dreadful tidings from Flanders, at which the duke of Alba has been strangely confounded ever since."²

The orthodox counsellors of the Catholic king were transported with indignation when they perused these despatches. They told of the sack of the cathedral of Antwerp, by a turbulent mob of heretics, incited to plunder by their ministers. The holy vessels had been converted to the vilest purposes ; the images

In his will, Philip commits his daughter to the care and affection of her brother, the future king, in these words : "Take care of your sister so dearly beloved by me ; for she was my joy and the very light of my eyes."

² *Dépêches de M. de Fourquevaux*, p. 443.

mutilated, burned, or rolled ignominiously in the gutters of the streets ; the pictures destroyed, and the priests compelled to flee for their lives. They, moreover, recounted the formidable league of the towns of Flanders against the orthodox faith ; and the hopes entertained by the sectarians of a speedy rising in France, and of succour from Elizabeth of England. They recited also the threats of vengeance recorded against the Regent, Barlaimont, Mansfeld, and other members of the council of state who had sworn to obey the mandates of the king—menaces which no longer rendered Brussels a safe abiding-place for any of Philip's servants.

When the king perused these despatches, he is said by some to have fallen into a violent transport of rage, tearing his beard and vowing by the soul of his father that it should cost the rebels dear ! This relation is, doubtless, an exaggeration ; for no sovereign possessed more perfect command of every emotion, whether of grief or joy. Hopper, who was at Segovia at the period, distinctly states,¹ that Philip took the intelligence with virtuous resignation—which is much the most probable account, inasmuch as the king, on his return from El Paular, where he was sojourning when the despatches arrived, had sufficient forbearance to spend some period in his wife's chamber before holding council with his ministers. This first conference took place on the evening of the king's

¹ Hopper, *Recueil et Mémorial des Troubles des Pays-Bas*. Hoynck Van Papendrecht's—*Analecta Belgica*.

return to El Bosque. The consternation of Philip's ministers demonstrated itself in the variety of the counsels they tendered. The duque de Alba and, Espinosa headed the party which deprecated concession of any kind ; while Eboli, and Don Juan Manrique, advocated pacific measures. All, however, united in advising Philip to proceed to the Low Countries. Alba, with the warlike accompaniments befitting a monarch bound on a mission of retribution, and instancing the treatment experienced by the rebel Gantois from Charles V. ; while Eboli, on the contrary, implored Philip to journey to Flanders in the pomp of royal progress. The king rose from the council without expressing any opinion, and immediately retired to his chamber, feeling heated and indisposed. In the middle of the night he awoke in the hot stage of the fever then so prevalent at El Bosque. The physicians, when summoned, could not agree upon the remedies necessary to apply ; part insisting on subjecting his majesty to a copious bleeding ; the others desiring to administer certain nostrums deemed by them especially efficacious. Philip remained seriously ill and confined to his bed for more than a fortnight, to the great grief of the queen, who was not permitted to visit her husband until the fever was on the decline. Elizabeth passed a melancholy time ; her chief pleasures consisted in conversing with Doña Juana, and in nursing the infanta, whom the French ambassador represented as a remarkably healthy child, good-tempered, and *belle comme le*

beau Jour. The queen's health, however, was gradually improving; and she now ate with relish jellies, boiled eggs, and capon broth, according to the directions of the physicians. One day, Elizabeth sent for De Fourquevaulx to visit her; and requested him to bring one of his secretaries, Monsieur de la Savonière, who was famed for *bons mots* and story-telling. Her majesty seemed much amused at the tales which the latter related, and laughed very heartily at some jests and mimicries.¹

El Bosque had become a very dull sojourn, and more especially so after the departure of Doña Juana, who proceeded during the month of September to Aranjuez with the Imperial princes her nephews. The prince of Eboli departed for one of his country-houses near to Toledo, to visit his consort, who had just given birth to a daughter.² The prince Don Carlos was directed by his father to retire to the monastery of Guadaloupé during the absence of his governor, an exile which greatly exasperated his temper. The tidings of the troubles in the Netherlands had excited the prince's mind, and caused him again vehemently to demand a military command against the rebels. The duke of Alba, in haughty and forbidding temper, took to his chamber, under pretence of a violent fit of gout, and denied himself

¹ Dépêches de Fourquevaulx, p. 447.—Ined.

² This daughter subsequently espoused the duke de Medina Sidonia, who was nominated generalissimo of the Spanish Armada despatched by Philip for the invasion of England.

to all ; though he daily paid long and ominous visits to the sick chamber of his royal master. The French ambassador, who anxiously sought audience of Alba, to discuss the affairs of Flanders, failed to gain admittance, though he demanded an interview on the subject of some French prisoners of war working as convicts in the northern ports of Spain, whom queen Catherine was desirous to have exchanged. The first time Fourquevaulx proceeded to El Bosque, Alba was confined to his chamber with a severe fit of gout. The second time the duke slept, and could not upon any pretence whatever be disturbed.¹

After the 17th of September, the queen's health took so favourable a turn, that she was able to rise during a part of the day. She also went to visit the king, who was still confined to his apartment, though his condition had improved. Elizabeth, on this occasion, wore a *robe-de-chambre* of scarlet velvet trimmed with gold *passementerie*. Philip received his consort with great joy ; and the queen daily repeated her visit to his chamber until his fever was cured. Sometimes she carried the infanta in her arms ; at others, she paid her visit alone. On the 23rd of September, both the king and the queen were recovered sufficiently to receive Catherine's special ambassador, M. de St. Sulpice. The latter reports favourably on Elizabeth's appearance ; stating that no person could have imagined, judging by her majesty's

¹ Dépêches de Fourquevaulx, p. 447—MS. Bibl. Imp.

looks, that she had been in so great an extremity of sickness. "As for the king, madame," says the ambassador, "methought he looked during our audience more handsome, younger and fresher in complexion than he ever did before his illness."¹ Yet the mind of the king during his malady had been agitated by excessive care. Every method proposed for the repression of the troubles in Flanders seemed beset with objections and difficulties. Philip, on the first impulse of these events, desired to demonstrate his zeal for his faith by proceeding in person to the Netherlands, himself to vindicate religion, there so despised and insulted. All kinds of rumours relative to the king's departure were current; and many of these alleged projects had actually been debated in council. Philip feared that the health and inexperience of his young consort would unfit her for the duties of the regency during his absence from Spain; especially after the declaration made by Don Carlos to the prince of Eboli, "that if his father quitted the realm, there was no appearance of reason that the sceptre should be intrusted to the hand of two women,² rather than to himself, the heir." Other personages of his council advised the king to avail himself of the tried ability of Doña Juana, his sister, who, during his absence, would know how to repress the dangerous enterprises of Don Carlos, and main-

¹ Dépêche de Fourquevaux.

² Meaning the queen and the princess Doña Juana.

tain the kingdom both tranquil and orthodox. This proposal, however, coming to the ears of the young queen, she so earnestly besought her husband, at the instigation of the French ambassador, not to set any in the realm over her during his absence, that Philip promised to satisfy her on this point, or to take her with him to Flanders. St. Sulpice was urgently commanded by his royal mistress to investigate these intrigues with diligence, and to bring back into France a satisfactory detail. Philip also sent the following letter to Catherine de Medici in reply to the missives with which she so often favoured him.

PHILIP II. TO QUEEN CATHERINE DE MEDICI.

“Señora.

“I owe your majesty response to two letters; the last one being that which I received from St. Sulpice, who has, moreover, imparted to me the special matters which you charged him to confide. He has, also, given me good news of your majesty’s health, which rejoices me greatly. I feel not less contentment in hearing of the joy which your majesty experienced at the happy intelligence of the safe delivery of the queen my wife, and of the anxiety that had overwhelmed you concerning her health; both which things, I believe—for your majesty owes such to the nearness of our kindred; and in return for the love which we both bear you as your true children. It is not, therefore, necessary for your majesty to return me thanks for the care with which I sought for the complete and speedy restoration of your health, as I hold and prize it as much as my own.

"I pray God to bestow upon your majesty a life long and prosperous, as desires and prays,

"El buen hijo, y hermano de vuestra magesdad,"

"EL REY."¹

Elizabeth, moreover, confided a letter to St. Sulpice addressed to Anne d'Esté, duchesse de Guise on her second marriage with Jacques de Savoye, duc de Nemours. The duke, who was one of the most gallant and wealthy nobles of France, had been for years a devoted admirer of Anne d'Esté, whose pure and noble character shone brightly amid the depravity of Catherine's court. The duke, however, before the decease of the duke de Guise, had affianced himself to Mademoiselle de Rohan, whom, under promise of immediate marriage, he seduced. When the death of her husband permitted the duchess de Guise to contract fresh matrimonial engagements, the duc de Nemours, disregarding every consideration of honour and justice, denied his prior engagements to Françoise de Rohan, and made earnest suit for the hand of Anne d'Esté. An alliance with a nobleman of such princely descent was warmly urged upon the duchess by all the members of the House of Lorraine; but it was not until after the engagements entered into by the duc de Nemours with Mademoiselle de Rohan had been annulled, both by the Holy See and by the council of state, that Anne gave encouragement to

¹ Archives de Simancas, K. 1393, B. No. 126. Carta de Felipe Segundo, a la Reyna de Francia Doña Catalina.—Ined.

the suit of the duke, and finally bestowed herself upon him in marriage. The ceremony was performed at St. Maur, during the year 1566, by the cardinal de Lorraine, in the presence of Catherine and her court. Elizabeth seems to have felt much friendship for the duchess. Several letters are extant written by the queen to Anne d'Esté, requesting her to remind Catherine of promises which she had made to bestow offices on various members of Elizabeth's French household; and which the latter believed her mother would forget amongst her varied engagements.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF SPAIN, TO THE DUCHESSE DE NEMOURS.¹

“ Ma Cousine.

“I have not hitherto written to express the pleasure I felt on learning the event of your marriage, having been prevented by the extreme illness of which you have heard particulars; and also, because I was not certain that the marriage had been solemnized until I received your letter. I believe, ma cousine, you are convinced that you possess not a more affectionate relative than myself; or one who takes greater joy, and interest in your welfare and honour. I pray you tender the same assurances from me to mon cousin, M. de Nemours your husband, to whom I request to be commended.

I cannot express sufficiently my delight and joy at having become a mother; so great is it, that I fear you are right in believing that I am both fond and foolish with my daughter. She is in very good health, and growing

¹ MS. Bibl. Imp. F. de Béthune, 8747, p. 9.—Ined.

into a little woman, as she already takes notice when spoken to. Ma cousine, not further to expose to you what a doating mother I am, as everybody here tells me, I will conclude this letter. Praying God to give you health, and to bless you with a happy and long life, I am,

Vos humbleme cousinne
Elizabeth

The fair and blithe little infanta, who seldom seems to have been afflicted with any childish ailment, was a never failing source of solace and pride to Elizabeth. During the queen's hours of retirement, the child was always in her arms, or sleeping on the lap of Doña Ana de Fasardo, who now was Elizabeth's favourite attendant, and seldom quitted her royal mistress. Catherine de Medici showed the greatest interest in the health and growth of madame Isabel, and repeatedly sent her presents of robes, toys, and conserves. She also sent her grandchild a gold service of nursery plate, including a jewelled cup, out of which Catherine requested that the princess might always be fed. At Vittoria, however, the officers of his majesty's customs chose to detain the precious case, although it was secured with a leaden seal bearing queen Catherine's arms and cypher. Representations being made on the

subject to Philip by the French ambassador, the king commanded that the box should be forwarded without delay, and the officious functionaries severely reprimanded for its undue detention. The case was then unpacked in the presence of the ambassador. The skill displayed by the goldsmith whom Catherine had employed was much lauded by the queen and by Doña Juana. The little princess also put out her hand, and tried to grasp the glittering cup, sent for her special use, and cried vehemently when the bauble was taken away out of her sight.

The king and queen quitted Valsain on the 22nd of October, for Madrid. Elizabeth continued in indifferent health, and suffered much from the fatigue of the journey; yet it was thought expedient to remove her from the pestilential atmosphere of Segovia. She was received on arriving at Madrid, by the duchess of Alba, who met with a cold greeting from both the sovereigns. Don Carlos also arrived and took possession of his apartments in the royal palace. On the last day of October, Philip proceeded alone to the Escorial to spend All Saints Day in retirement, and afterwards to make a short sojourn in the monastery.

The revolutionary movement in the Netherlands, continued violently to excite the mind of the prince of Spain. Exasperated at the immoveable reserve maintained by his father, and by his positive refusal to communicate to him the despatches received from the duchess regent, the unhappy prince, incapable of

self-control, subjected himself to all manner of humiliating affronts. Distrusted by his father, who abhorred his dissipated mode of life, and his utter want of decorum, the prince beheld himself shunned by those whose influence or counsels, might have helped him to retrieve his errors. Honorato Juan, bishop of Osma, the faithful preceptor of Don Carlos, seems alone to have possessed salutary influence over the mind of his pupil. Many affectionate letters had passed at intervals between the prince and his tutor; a correspondence which was encouraged by Philip. Unfortunately, the bishop of Osma died during the sojourn of Don Carlos at El Bosque; and the latter was thus deprived of his advice, at a critical period of his career, when, if ever, the prince needed a true friend. Another frequent correspondent of the prince, was his almoner, Hernan Suarez de Toledo. In a letter, without date, Suarez implores the prince to abandon his dangerous designs, "the illusions of the Evil One, which cannot fail to bring mischief on himself, and disquiet to the monarchy."¹ Cardinal Espinosa, president of the council and Inquisitor General, also warned the prince at this period that his imprudent conduct was dangerous to himself and dishonourable to the monarchy; for that the spectacle of a son at open warfare with his king and father, could not long be tolerated by any nation. Espinosa was hated by the prince, because "he

¹ Prescott, History of the Reign of Philip II., vol. II. p. 406, Cab. edit.

never agreed with him in any opinion or matter ;” his advice was, therefore, scorned. The prince of Eboli, likewise, occasionally essayed the effect of his eloquence ; but his appeals to the honour and right feeling of Don Carlos were met by the taunt that Ruy Gomez was a tale-bearer and a spy, and reported all things, with malicious comment, to the king. The boisterous and unprincely manners of Don Carlos, were construed each time the prince entered the royal presence, into premeditated insults. Philip tenaciously resented the rude sarcasm and the defiant speeches addressed to him in public by his son. Yet the bold and reckless nature of Don Carlos shrank before his father’s glance and contemptuous silence ; and often after leaving the king’s presence, he fled to the gentle sympathy of Elizabeth for refuge against his own sad forebodings. “ Madame,” writes the French ambassador to Catherine de Medici, “ you may implicitly credit the fact that there exists feelings of unalterable indignation and dissatisfaction between the Catholic king, and the prince his son. The father hates the son, and the son returns the like, and in not less degree. In short, if God interposes not, all must one day end in great calamity. In the same measure, nevertheless, that the hate of the said son augments towards his father, does his affection increase for the queen his step-mother ; for in her does the prince find his only solace. Her majesty throughout conducts herself with such pru-

dence and judgment, so as to content both her husband and her step-son.”²

The Flemish envoys, Bergen and Montigny, still remained at Madrid under surveillance. Their intercourse was watched; and even their very words, with the nobles of the court, were reported to the king by the secretary of state, Vasquez. Any communication, therefore, interchanged between the deputies and Don Carlos was regarded with intense suspicion. The prince had been heard to express sympathy with William of Orange and the confederated lords arrayed against his father's authority in the Low Countries. He declared that he was wearied of leading a life of indolence; and that the office of subduing the revolt in the Netherlands was his own by right, if not undertaken in person by the king his father. The emperor Maximilian, moreover, was believed to encourage and support Don Carlos in these sentiments: likewise the former frequently expressed his opinion that Philip was bound on the marriage of his son with the archduchess Anne, to confer the Low Countries or the kingdom of Naples on the prince. The mention of even an hypothetical dismemberment of his realm was sufficient to throw the king into one of his fits of concentrated fury. Philip, therefore, before his return to Madrid, in October 1566, or immediately afterwards, positively

² *Dépêches de Fourquevaux*, p. 983—MS. Bibl. Imp.—Ined. Lettre confidentielle et particulière à la Royne mère de France.

refused any military command to his son ; or to take decisive and immediate steps towards forwarding the negotiations for the marriage of the prince with Anne of Austria. The violent temper of the prince was not to be controlled on learning this decision : he declared in public, “ that he would accompany his father to Flanders, or wherever he went ; ” and in proof of his resolve, he despatched one of his equeries with twelve thousand crowns, to proceed into Andalusia, to buy him horses and mules for the contemplated expedition.² His next step was one which gave deep and lasting offence to Philip. The prince suddenly presented himself, of his own accord, before the council of state, and requested each of its members to expostulate with the king his father, and to inform his majesty, “ that it was his desire to enter upon the affairs of Flanders with energy ; and to examine all things, and to find remedy for the prevailing disorders.”³ The nobles received this communication in silence, promising only to impart it to the king, in accordance with the request of the prince. Antonio Perez asserts that, at this period, direct overtures were made to Don Carlos by the Flemish envoys, to place himself at the head of the revolt in the Low Countries. Had this plot been successfully developed, the result might probably have compelled Philip to cede the Netherlands to his son, whose proposed alliance with the daughter of the

¹ Dépêches de Fourquevaux, p. 908—Lettre au Roy.—Ined.

² Ibid.—Ined.

³ Ibid.

benevolent and popular Maximilian, would have been hailed with joy by the Flemings.

According to the statements made by Perez—a narrative which unfortunately must be received with caution, as emanating from Philip's deadly enemy—the king commanded Don Juan of Austria, to insinuate himself into the confidence of the prince, and skilfully to draw from him his designs. "The prince," says the nuncio Castaneo, "betrays by his lips every impulse of his heart." It was not, therefore, difficult for Don Juan, intent on his perfidious task, to possess himself of the secret projects of the unhappy prince. He achieved this, according to the statement of Perez, by delusive professions of attachment and aid. "Know you not," passionately responded Don Carlos, "that I am the most miserable and unfortunate of princes? I am treated like a slave, and deprived of the smallest participation in state affairs. I have no authority, or office confided to me, to serve for employment, or to render me hereafter capable of governing this my future realm!" "He then," relates Perez, "broke out in abuse of the king his father; and ended by informing Don Juan, that the only resource remaining to him was to throw himself into the arms of his good friends in Flanders, who besought his aid."¹ At the period when Perez wrote his narration of the two most tragical events of Philip's reign, he was the mortal enemy of the

¹ Recit d'Antonio Perez au Conseiller du Vair. MS. Bibl. Imp. Dupuy, 661, 662.

king, who after abandoning his old friend, and faithful servant to the tortures of the Inquisition, finally, after the escape of the former from the captivity to which he had doomed him, set a price upon his head. Such testimony as that of Perez, must, therefore, always be liable to the suspicion of exaggeration and revenge. The only valid written allusion which has yet been discovered relative to the suspected dealings of Don Carlos with the deputies from the Flemish Lords of the Confederation, are a few words, which occur in a letter addressed by Suarez to the prince, in which his almoner says, "*Tambien he llorado, no haber parecido bien que V. A. hablase a los procuradores, como dicen que le hizo, etc.*"¹ After the news of the violence perpetrated by the Iconoclasts of Antwerp had reached Madrid, the unfortunate Flemish deputies were treated with such rigour by the king, and so precarious did their position appear, as would doubtless render them careful of incurring the peril of even the semblance of an attempt to suborn the heir apparent. The frenzied declarations of the prince probably increased the difficulties of their position; the more so, as Ruy Gomez, and the marquis of Bergen, having in former days been intimate friends, the king desired his favourite minister to attempt the same deceitful rôle, towards his former companion, as he had enjoined on Don Juan of Austria, relative to the prince Don Carlos.²

¹ Reign of Philip II., Prescott, p. 406, vol. II.

² Ibid, p. 243.

On the 22nd of December, 1566, Philip again sought retirement during the Christmas festival, at the Escorial, where he remained until the 10th of the following month. The calm of this seclusion, the king's sedentary occupations there, and the ceremony of his intercourse with the Jeromite brotherhood, formed a mode of life congenial to Philip's temperament and habits of reserve. It was when pacing the aisles of the superb chapel he had there erected, that Philip loved to indulge in silent meditation, and to perfect those intricate political projects, the clue to many of which it is still impossible to trace, even after perusing the corresponding state papers addressed to the king, or submitted to his cabinet. The mental application of the king rendered him grave, and abstracted even in his hours of comparative leisure. At such seasons the polished converse of Eboli, dissipated the king's pre-occupation; or as Philip, at twilight hour, strolled beneath the majestic cloister of his convent palace, the bishop of Cuença his confessor, or Espinosa, would cheer him by eloquent commendation; while they invoked the blessing of Heaven upon their pious and very Catholic monarch. Such discourse alone brought a ray of enthusiasm on the features of Philip. To realize, and to cause the glowing legends of the saints, and of the Madonna, to be embodied, as far as might be, by the skill of his artists, was the object of the king's greatest delight—and the passion which mellowed some of the harsher traits

of his character, by the poetic fervour of the visions thus inspired.

During the absence of the king at El Escorial, Elizabeth was left in the society of Don Carlos, whose deeds, nevertheless, continued to be closely watched. Together they attended the midnight mass performed on Christmas Eve, in the chapel of the Jeromite monastery.¹ During this service, Elizabeth caught a severe cold, which rendered her indisposed for the remainder of the festival. Certain irregularities at this season, in the payment of the salaries due to the queen's servants and officers, again renewed strife in the royal household. The bills drawn on the treasury by the queen's *mayor-domo*, were not unfrequently returned with the intimation, "that his majesty had no disposable money at command." Demands to replenish the queen's privy-purse were also disregarded; and even the claims of Elizabeth's tailors and brocade makers were unheeded; a state of things which produced the greatest discontent and confusion. The reason of this embarrassment arose from the desire felt by Philip to transmit large sums of money to the Regent of the Netherlands, to aid in putting down the rebellion of the Lords of the League. In minute financial calculations Philip excelled; not a single écu of the public revenue left the *exchequer* without having its specific destination assigned by the king. At this period, likewise, Philip took into consideration the expediency of reducing the expenditure

¹ Dépêches de Fourquevaux, MS. p. 607.—Ined.

in the palaces ; and also of curtailing the privy purse expenses : a project, however, which resulted in no useful reform, as the king, on investigation, found his scheme impracticable.

The king, meanwhile, on his return from the Escorial, commanded his consort to write to her mother and her brother, to request that permission might be accorded him to pass through France on his way to Brussels. Immediate acquiescence was given by Charles and his mother to this demand ;¹ one, in fact, which their ambassador had put forth his most skilful power of intrigue to elicit. A similar request was, at the same time, officially made to the French cabinet by Don Francisco de Alava, coupled with a notification that the queen of Spain having again become pregnant, it was a subject of solicitude to the king her consort, that her journey to Brussels should be performed with ease and leisure. Don Francisco, moreover, added to the original demand, a request, that if his Catholic majesty found it politic to delay his own journey to the Netherlands, a body of troops, about to be despatched by Philip to the regent Marguerite of Parma, might receive license from the French government to traverse certain provinces of France. Had this supplementary demand been made public, Philip's courtiers—aghast at the sudden decision on the part of their sovereign, and the stir which its consequent preparations occasioned—

¹ Lettre de M. de la Mothe-Fénélon à Don Francisco de Alava—Archives de Simancas, K. 1393, C. 21, No. 82.—Ined.

would have divined his ulterior view, in making so unexpected a declaration. The sluggishness of Philip's constitution ; and his well known horror at witnessing any conflict with weapons, rendered it highly improbable that the king would himself undertake the chastisement of his revolted subjects of Flanders. The king, moreover, shrank from encountering the expression of public opinion on ecclesiastical affairs, which must have greeted him while resident in Brussels. Under Charles V. this revolutionary movement would have been long ago suppressed by the energy and conduct of the emperor ; or had such success been deemed hopeless, a policy of wise conciliation, tendered by Charles in person, would have recalled to their allegiance, nobles whose homage enhanced the lustre of the Spanish crown. The cold and sardonic composure shown by Philip under every phasis of public opinion, exasperated the people ; and his evasion of their request that he would come in person and redress their grievances, left them little to hope for in his future clemency. " My father deems that the emperor my grandfather, journeyed sufficiently for himself and his son ; the king, therefore, reposes now both for the emperor and for his own pleasure !" sneeringly observed Don Carlos, in allusion to the rumours, ever changing and conflicting, respecting Philip's departure for Flanders. " Everything goes on from to-morrow to to-morrow, the only resolution is to remain irresolute," writes Chantonnay to his brother, the cardinal Granvelle.

“The king will allow matters to become so entangled in the Low Countries, that if he should ever visit them, he will find it easier to conform to the state of things than to mend it. The lords there are more kings than the king himself. It seems impossible that Philip should conduct himself like a man!”¹ To add to Philip’s perplexities, Don Carlos demanded that the regency should be conferred upon him, in case the king decided on quitting the realm, and at the same time refused to nominate him to a military command in Flanders. The queen earnestly desired to be excused from undertaking the government during Philip’s absence; but she requested that Doña Juana might not be invested with supreme authority whilst she remained within the realm. Doña Juana herself, exhibited extreme disinclination to relinquish her pious occupations at Las Descalzas Reales, to accept so onerous a post, with the certainty before her that her nephew would rise in rebellion against her authority, and circumvent her policy in every possible manner.

The king, meantime, convoked the States General of Castile, and demanded a large subsidy for the prosecution of the war in Flanders. He opened the Cortès in person, on the 14th day of December, and after making a short speech, he commanded the secretary of state, Eraso, to address the assembly, and to state his wishes and designs. The deputy

¹ Archives de la Maison d’Orange Nassau, t. i. p. 1426. Quoted also by Prescott, History of Philip I.

sent from the town of Burgos, rose to reply to this oration. He declared, in language so affecting as to draw tears from many eyes in the assembly, that "all the Spains mourned the approaching departure of their king and sovereign; a prince who was the father of his people, and the shepherd of the flock." He continued, "that it was, nevertheless, wholesome and necessary that his majesty should depart to subdue the revolt of the Flemings, for that the submission of Spain as respected the Holy Office of the Inquisition, depended upon the effectual rout of the insurgents." On the following day, it was debated to petition the king to leave his highness Don Carlos, within the realm of Spain during his absence: also to banish from the kingdom all usurers and holders of banks, who grievously oppressed the people—the which things, if it pleased his majesty to grant, the towns and provinces of the realm would joyfully furnish the requisite loan, requiring his majesty only to pay an interest of six ducats for every hundred advanced. As the members were debating upon these points on a subsequent day, a great noise and tumult of voices was heard outside the hall of assembly, and presently Don Carlos entered, his features inflamed with passion, and his hand upon his sword. The deputies rose in amaze. The prince commenced a discourse in a loud voice. He said, "That he had been informed that it was the intention of the assembly to petition the king his father, to leave him in Spain during his majesty's absence. But that any deputy

who had the audacity to propose such a thing, he should henceforth hold as his mortal enemy ; also the town which sent him, he should deem inimical ; and to a certainty he would hereafter destroy both, when he had the power, which only tarried. Moreover," continued the prince, " I will treat in the same manner all persons here, who show themselves fool-hardy enough to propose my marriage with la Princesa my august aunt, as was done from this very place three years ago. I take it very strange that any here present presume to meddle in such a matter, just as if the king my father, cannot find me a suitable alliance without other counsel !"¹ He then strictly commanded the deputies to keep his visit a profound secret ; and departed with the same menacing manner, without bestowing the usual courteous salute on the first president. This intemperate, and unauthorized proceeding, threw the members into a state of great consternation ; and a deputation instantly departed to report the interview to the king. Philip listened in silence, and without perceptible emotion. He thanked the deputies for their zeal and loyalty ; but made no comment on the conduct of his son. The ill-regulated passions of the unfortunate prince, were betraying him daily to destruction ; for no people, however loyal, could contemplate without dread and protest the possible accession of such a monarch.

¹ Dépêches de M. de Fourquevaux au Roy—MS. Bibl. Imp. F., Brienne, 70, fo. 178.—Ined. Décembre, 1566.

This last folly on the part of his son, added to the conviction previously felt by Philip, that the regency of the queen or of the princess Juana, would be disturbed by revolts in the towns and provinces which favoured the designs of Don Carlos, decided the king on the course most politic for him to pursue. Without previously imparting his project to any person, Philip summoned the duke of Alba, and informed him that he had resolved to send him to the Netherlands, at the head of an army, to assist and guide the duchess-regent in suppressing heresy, and in enforcing submission to the edicts. Ruy Gomez, was directed at the same time to wait on the French ambassador, and inform him, "that the Catholic king adhered to his intent to visit Flanders; but that his journey could not be undertaken until the month of November, 1567, which would be after the *accouchement* of the queen his consort; so that at the said period could be accomplished the interview between the French king and the queen his mother, and their Catholic majesties." The ambassador, as well as many others of the court indulged in a few sceptical remarks upon the king's sincerity in making this declaration, seeing that month after month had passed away in similar plausible assurances. Elizabeth, meantime, joyfully commented on this decision; and warmly expressed her satisfaction to the ambassador Fourquevaux, and to her mother. As for the prince, his rage was boundless when he found that

he was to have no military command ; that his father had no intention of quitting his realm ; and that the duke of Alba had been appointed " to supersede him in his rightful mission," as he expressed it. When the duke of Alba came to pay his respects and to take leave of the prince, before his final departure from Madrid, at the commencement of April, 1567. Don Carlos exclaimed, with a threatening gesture, " You shall not go to Flanders ; it is my intent to proceed there myself ! " Alba responded, " that his departure was intended only to herald that of his majesty and Don Carlos ; and that he was going to tranquillize the country, and prepare it to give loyal reception to its sovereign." This reply seemed further to infuriate the prince ; he drew his dagger, and turning upon the duke, exclaimed ; " By the life of my father, you shall not go ! You shall not depart ! I will kill you ! " A struggle then ensued—with the frenzy of a maniac the prince grappled with the duke, making thrusts at him with his dagger. Alba, fortunately, being a strong man, was, therefore, able, at length, to seize his assailant and hold him tight by the wrists, until the prince had exhausted himself in ineffectual efforts to regain his freedom. No sooner, however, was the prince released, than he threw himself again with savage fury upon the duke, shouting, with all his strength to his attendants for aid. Again Alba closed with him, and succeeded in holding the prince, a second time, with iron grasp, until his attendants entered from the adjacent cham-

ber alarmed at the noise, and the frantic vociferations, of their unhappy master. Alba then released the prince; when Don Carlos, panting and exhausted with the struggle, rushed from the apartment, after casting a glance at the duke, full of such malignant meaning, as to cause him very sensible emotion.¹

This ebullition of fury brought on an attack of fever, which confined the prince to his chamber for some days. Philip, through the prince of Eboli, intimated his sense of the indignity inflicted on the person of his minister, and lieutenant; a communication which widened the estrangement already subsisting between the king and his son.

On the 15th of April, Philip granted a parting audience to Alba at Aranjuez, during which the king reiterated his promise to follow the duke to the Netherlands during the course of the year. The wits of the court made very merry with Philip's procrastinating resolves: for the king's horror at the voyage, and the discomforts of so long a journey were humorously appreciated by his loyal Spanish lieges. Don Carlos, as usual, was foremost in the ranks of his father's assailants, surpassing all, however, in the malice of his sarcasm. The abbé de St. Réal thus recounts an incident, for the veracity of which he has Brantôme² for a voucher: "One day," says St. Réal,³ "after many personages—who had as-

¹ Cabrera, Felipe Segundo, lib vii. cap. 13.

² Brantôme, Capitaines Illustres—Vie de Don Carlos.

³ Histoire de Don Carlos Prince d'Espagne.

assembled in the apartments of the queen, and who had there discoursed upon the alleged journey of the king into Flanders—had taken leave of her majesty, there remained behind only Don Carlos, Don Juan of Austria, and the princess of Eboli. After ridiculing together the folly of courtiers in giving themselves the trouble to discuss the result of events which might never take place, Don Carlos began to deride the journey itself, and the pains which the king took to counterfeit illness in order to elude it. He said his father appeared to be of opinion that the emperor Charles Quint had taken journeys enough for himself, and for his son; so that the king had determined to take both repose for himself, and for the emperor also. The queen did not hear this remark, she being engaged in discoursing privately with several individuals who had sought audience. Don Juan, and the princess of Eboli, however, conversed together in a low voice. Don Carlos then began to make a little book with some sheets of paper, which he took from a case on the table, upon which he wrote in large letters on the first page, ‘The Great and Admirable Journeys of the King, Don Philip II.’ Upon each of the blank pages of the book, he proceeded to enter one of the following titles: ‘The journey from Madrid to El Escorial: the journey from El Escorial to Toledo: the journey from Toledo to Madrid: from Madrid to Aranjuez: from Aranjuez to El Pardo: from El Pardo to El Escorial;’ and in such fashion he filled the book

with the journeys of the king to and from his palaces, and the principal towns of the realm. The queen, when the book was shown to her by the prince, could not help laughing at this conceit, dangerous as its indulgence appeared to her majesty. It happened that while the queen was reading the paper, a chamberlain entered her apartment to announce that the king had been suddenly seized with a great faintness, and that he seemed very ill. The queen, in her haste to proceed to his majesty's apartment, had not leisure to enjoin the prince to take care of his book. Don Carlos, therefore, being in haste to follow her majesty, threw the book into a little cabinet close at hand, the door of which he locked, being ignorant that the princess of Eboli possessed duplicate keys of all the queen's cabinets and drawers. The prince, therefore, had no sooner left the apartment, than Doña Ana took possession of the paper. When the princess became aware of the nature of the document which had thus fallen into her power, her joy was extreme to have at her disposal a paper that would so greatly injure Don Carlos in the opinion of the king his father. Her first thought was how to retain the paper, without allowing it to be known that it was in her power; for she felt convinced that the queen, knowing the importance of such a document, would seek it on her return. Without losing time, therefore, she made a little book precisely similar, in which she caused the writing of Don Carlos to be skilfully imitated, and placed it in the cabinet,

giving the original paper to the prince of Eboli her husband. The queen, finding this book in the place where Don Carlos told her he had deposited his own, was in such haste to burn it; that she threw it into the fire without opening it; as her majesty distrusted nothing on this occasion. Ruy Gomez, who desired to ruin Don Carlos, on a suitable opportunity, informed the king that he thought himself compelled to communicate a little incident, which he had deemed at first of no consequence; but which would enlighten his majesty more perfectly as to the mind and sentiments of the prince his son. The king, after hearing the statement made by Ruy Gomez, demanded to see the book; upon being shown which he recognised the hand-writing of the prince. His majesty then fell into a profound reverie, in which, without further observation, his minister (Ruy Gomez) thought it most prudent to leave him."

The violence of the prince's conduct towards the duke of Alba had excessively incensed the king, who, on his return from Aranjuez, refused to admit his son to his presence.¹ After the departure of Alba, Philip retired to El Escorial to concert measures for the future conduct of affairs in Flanders, and for the repression of the dangerous enterprises of his son. The council of state, without one dissentient voice, promised to support the king in any measures he might deem requisite for the safety of the realm, and

¹ *Dépêches de Fourquevaux*—Janvier, 1568—Bibl. Imp. Suppl. F.—Ined.

his own domestic comfort. The principal nobles, persuaded that their death, or exile, would follow the accession of Don Carlos, sought to secure their safety by the deposition of the rash and wayward prince. There sat at the council board scarcely one noble against whom Don Carlos had not drawn his dagger, or whom he had not otherwise personally assaulted. These same nobles, who had been so deferentially treated by the great Emperor, and exalted by the vast privileges of their grandeeship, now found themselves exposed to the insane attacks of the prince, who, when provoked, sprang, with the savage fury of a wild beast on its prey, to avenge his supposed wrong, regardless of place or dignity. The excesses of Don Carlos had so far impaired his constitution, as to render it highly inexpedient, in the opinion of Gutierrez, and the other physicians consulted, for the prince to contract marriage. Their report was officially delivered to the privy-council, and it formed one of the chief pleas for the proceedings subsequently taken to exclude the prince from the succession. The pregnancy of the queen renewed the hope, ever animating the king's mind, that Elizabeth might become the mother of a son, heir to the vast territories of his ancestors. In a secret conference, holden at this period, June, 1567, between Eboli and the French ambassador, the discourse of the former presents a clue to many subsequent events: "We believe, and are convinced, that this said prince of Spain will never leave posterity to

succeed to these realms ; so that the future offspring of our mistress the Catholic queen, will inherit eventually.”¹ “The prince is in so deplorable a condition, both naturally, and by reason of his excesses, that, in the opinion of three chief physicians, it is ridiculous to talk of marriage. And this fact his Highness is well aware of:”² writes de Fourquevaulx, on the last day of June, 1567. The king, however, thought proper to address, at this season, a very earnest and comprehensive remonstrance to his son on the error of his proceedings. Philip, moreover, being informed of the excited state of his son’s mind, which was likely to result in dangerous consequences, was pleased to ordain, by the advice of the council, that an ambassador should be despatched to Vienna, to proceed in the negotiation for the alliance between Don Carlos and the archduchess Anne. This embassy was a mere feint to tranquillize the unhappy prince, pending the *accouchement* of the queen, as there can be little doubt that the resolve to declare the prince incapable of succeeding to the Spanish crown, on account of mental and physical incapacity, had been unanimously adopted ; and its execution remained but a matter of time and opportunity. “This said Don Luis de Vanegas is proceeding to Vienna,” writes de Fourquevaulx,³ “to propose the marriage of the two daughters of the emperor—the

¹ Dépêches, p. 849. Datée Juin, 1567.—Ined.

² Ibid, p. 823.—Ined.

³ Ibid, p. 745. De Fourquevaulx au roy—Datée de Madrid, le 15 Avril, 1567.

eldest with the prince of Spain, and the second with the king of Portugal. The said ambassador has instructions to discuss the time and the place when these marriages may be performed ; *also, some of the casualties which may succeed the accouchement of the Catholic queen, to the detriment and prejudice of the Prince of Spain.* For, as the said prince is a little rebellious in his deportment towards his father, they wish, by this suspension (of the negotiation), to afford time to ascertain whether the said Catholic queen will give birth to a son or to a daughter ; afterwards, to take fresh deliberation, designs, and proposals, on account of the little trust and security which the king at present feels in the capacity and confidence of the prince his son, to be declared heir-apparent and future sovereign of so many realms. Upon all these subjects the said sieur de Vanegas carries ample instructions."

Don Carlos manifested much contentment at the departure of de Vanegas ; and, on the strength of it, assumed a more submissive deportment. Philip sent a magnificent gift of rings and rich stuffs to his niece the archduchess. The present sent by the prince was a diamond of the value of 30,000 crowns, upon which his own portrait had been cut ; the jewel being set as a clasp for a robe.¹ Don Carlos continued to pay the same assiduous *devoirs* to the young queen, confiding to her majesty his grievances,

¹ Lettre de Fourquevaulx à la royne—Dépêches, p. 993—Juillet, 1567.—Ined.

and frequently paying her visits,¹ without any apparent displeasure on the part of Philip. Elizabeth took great interest in the prince, and frequently interceded to restore him to the favour of the king. She often conversed with him on the affairs of Flanders; and tried to reconcile him to the decision of the council not to permit of his interference in matters so subversive to sovereign dignity as religious contests. Notwithstanding the softening influence which the young queen exercised over the mind of Don Carlos, the natural violence of his character continued daily to manifest itself in frantic outbursts of fury; and, as far as it lay in his power, by the destruction of the offending obstacle. The Venetian Badoero² relates, that one day the prince was presented with a beautiful lizard by one of his attendants. He roughly seized the reptile by the tail, making some jocular remark, when it turned and bit his finger. In an instant, the face of the prince flamed with fury, and clutching the lizard, he thrust it between his teeth, bit off its head, and hurled it from him. Disobedience or contradiction the prince promptly punished by knocking the offender down, or by a blow in the face, even though the culprit might be the future representative of the noblest house in Spain. He took malicious pleasure in playing practical jokes on the noble ladies of the court, who regarded him with perfect horror. Some of the younger ladies, if attracted by their beauty, he

¹ Lettre de Fourquevaulx à la royne. Dépêches, p. 937, Aout 1567.

² Relazione, Bibl. Imp. MS. Colbert, 5486.

would rudely seize and kiss in the court circle ; or even in the streets, using opprobrious language if repulsed by the outraged fair ones.¹ With the prelates, he presumed boldly to argue on matters of the faith ; while he proved a most unruly and quibbling disciple to his confessor, Fray Diego de Chaves.

During the autumn of this year 1567, the impression seems to have been generally prevalent that some important resolutions respecting Don Carlos, occupied the attention of the Spanish cabinet. Catherine de Medici writes to her ambassador, during the month of August, to rebuke him for not sending more frequent despatches, considering, "the diversity of rumours daily current everywhere, treating of matters of such strange import as cannot be surpassed."² The emperor Maximilian, who seems to have been animated with great good will towards his unfortunate nephew, wrote likewise to admonish the prince to reform his conduct, so as to prove by his deeds that he was worthy to inherit the crown of Charles V. The prince's faithful almoner Suarez repeatedly exhorted the prince to seek reconciliation with the king his father ; enforcing his advice by numerous apt quotations taken from sacred and profane history exemplifying the disastrous end

¹ Brantôme, Hommes Illustres—Vie de Don Carlos.

² Catherine's words are : " M. de Fourquevaux—considérant qu'il y a ja un mois que vous ne nous avez escrit, et que vous ne pouvez ignorer que cette longueur de temps *avec la diversité de bruits qui courent d'heure à d'autres si étranges qu'il n'est possible davantage*, ne nous doise mettre en peine," etc.—Dépêches, p. 968.—Ined.

of those who had rebelled against their parents. Unwarned, however, by the expostulation of those who wished him well, Don Carlos pursued his insane career, checking sympathy, and alienating all, until the nation universally viewed his future accession to sovereign power as the direst calamity which could befall it.

The health of the queen, meanwhile, continued in a favourable condition. The ambassador states that she suffered only from tooth-ache, "which greatly incommoded her majesty." The queen, during the month of August, commenced a *neuvaine* to the shrine of Our Lady of Atocha, to procure a happy delivery. Every afternoon Elizabeth attended vespers in the chapel of the Jeromite monastery accompanied by the duchess of Alba. This latter lady by her assiduous attendance, had now secured a large share of favour; though Elizabeth's favourite companion was Doña Ana Fasardo. Catherine wished to send her daughter a French physician as she attributed much of Elizabeth's suffering after the birth of the infanta Isabel to the ignorance of the Spanish doctors. The queen, however, declined the offer, expressing herself satisfied with the skill of her first physician, Gutierrez, "than whom, madame, your daughter considers none to be more skilled under Heaven." De Fourquevaulx also reported that harmony had, at length, been restored in her Catholic majesty's household, by an order for 154,000 crowns granted by the king to liquidate all outstanding claims upon his consort's civil list.

Great preparations, meantime, were made in the palace at Madrid for the approaching event of the queen's delivery. Processions of the dean and clergy of the royal chapel daily perambulated the galleries of the palace, carrying the Host and chanting psalms, praying the Almighty to preserve the mother, and her expected offspring. Solemn masses were performed in all the churches of Madrid. A service was also celebrated in the chapel of the Escorial by Frexnada, bishop of Cuença, in the presence of Philip, who made devout offerings to the great shrines of his realm.

A different arrangement was at this time likewise made in the nursery department at the palace, that demonstrates the extreme distrust with which Philip regarded his son. The apartments occupied by the prince of Eboli, were situated under those of the queen, and communicated with the suite allotted to Don Carlos. Philip signified his intention that for the future these saloons should be occupied by the little infanta, and the queen's expected babe. He commanded that the door leading to the apartments of Don Carlos should be walled up, and every precaution taken to prevent his access to the royal infants. The better to effect this object, a staircase was constructed from the ante-chamber of the queen's bed-room to the saloon below, down which every one was compelled to descend, who wished to see the

¹ Fourquevaulx, p. 1015—MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. F.

children.¹ This proceeding was, of course, bitterly resented by Don Carlos, and augmented the hatred he cherished towards his father.

On the tenth day of October, the queen gave birth to a second infanta, in the presence of the king and the *cameréra-mayor*.² Her recovery on this occasion was rapid and satisfactory : and three days after her *accouchement*, Elizabeth was well enough to admit the French ambassador to audience. When the latter paid his visit of congratulation at the palace, Philip declared, that he felt more joyous at the birth of a second dear daughter, than if Providence had given him a son. De Fourquevaulx next visited the infant princess, on leaving the apartment of the queen. "I assure you, madame, that I saw a charming little princess. Her features are of more feminine cast than those of her sister, the infanta. I could not see the colour of her eyes, for her highness was asleep ; but I understand that they are of greenish hue. Her hair is brown. It is impossible, madame, to gaze upon a more lovely little creature. Her nurse has been carefully chosen ; and Doña Elvira de Carrillo is the governess of both the infantas. I went over their new apartment, which formerly appertained to Ruy Gomez, and perceived that it was defended as well as could be from cold and damp,"³ wrote de Fourquevaulx. Three days after his consort's ac-

¹ Dépêches de Fourquevaulx, p. 999.

² Ibid, 1029.

³ Ibid, p. 1031.

couchement, the king quitted Madrid for Aranjuez, where he was busily organizing schemes for raising levies, and subsidies for the prosecution of the war in Flanders. Before he quitted Madrid, Philip sent the following letter to his ambassador in France, enclosing another to be delivered to queen Catherine.

PHILIP II. TO DON FRANCISCO DE ALAVA.

“Don Francisco de Alava, our Privy Counsellor and Ambassador. Yesterday about the middle of the day, God was pleased to grant deliverance of another daughter to the queen my consort, with less danger and travail than in her previous labour. The queen continues in good condition; and the infanta her daughter, received a happy and safe birth, at the hour above mentioned. This event has given me a contentment impossible to be enhanced; and as I believe that the intelligence will confer a similar pleasure on the king her brother, and the queen her mother, I have thought it good to advertise you myself of this happy news, that their majesties may rejoice with me. You will, therefore, make relation of the satisfaction which I now experience. In the packet you will find a letter written with my own hand to the Christian queen. You will deliver this letter yourself, and offer suitable congratulation: afterwards fail not to inform me of the due arrival and reception of the letters, and of the health and welfare of both their Christian Majesties.

“From Madrid, this 11th day of October, 1567.”¹

Don Francisco replied that the queen-mother had shown much joy on hearing the news of her daughter's safety; but had manifested disappointment on

¹ Archives de Simancas, K. 1393, B. 21, No. 231, 232.—Ined.

learning the sex of the infant. "I replied," writes the ambassador, "that your majesty felt indebted for this anxiety; but that you experienced no regret on this subject, but glorified the Almighty that through His infinite mercy He had vouchsafed to permit your majesty to behold posterity as you desired, and one likely to become eminently beneficial to Christendom."¹ Catherine likewise expressed a wish that the portrait of the Infanta Isabel might be sent to her. The ambassador, however, who took every opportunity to act discourteously and rudely, replied, "that the request could not be granted; as the superstition of Spain would prevent the likeness of the royal child from being taken."² Elizabeth, nevertheless, at the very time, was employing an artist to paint the portrait of her daughter to send to her mother, divining the pleasure which such a gift would confer. The picture was despatched to Catherine by the *Sieur de Montmorin*, a special envoy, who left Madrid to carry tidings of the baptism of Elizabeth's infant.

This ceremony was performed before Elizabeth quitted her chamber, on the 19th day of October; nor did Philip return from *Aranjuez* to witness it. The little infanta was carried by *Don Juan of Austria*, to the parochial church of *St. Gilles*, on Sunday at vesper hour in great state and splendour. The baptismal rite was performed by the papal legate; the godfather being the archduke *Rodolph*, and the god-

¹ Archives de Simancas, B. 21, No. 121.—Ined.

² Ibid, No 74.—Ined.

mother the princess Doña Juana, aunt to the infant princess. Her names were Catalina Francisca; the former out of compliment to her grandmother the queen of France; and the latter because the birth of the infanta occurred in the Octave of San Francisco.¹

After the convalescence of Elizabeth, conjectures again became rife respecting the departure of the royal pair for Flanders. Catherine thought proper at this season to address a long homily to her daughter on the deportment she ought to adopt in case the king decided on intrusting her with the regency during his absence. "Admonish my daughter, M. l'ambassadeur, to show herself worthy of so dignified an office," wrote the queen-mother. "Let her not yield to diverse counsels; but so govern that she shall prove herself queen and mistress, and in such a manner that the king her husband, shall have to thank herself alone for all that is transacted, and not the servants whom he may leave around her." In reply, Fourquevaux assures his royal mistress that her daughter shows herself indeed worthy of the regency. He states that she was endowed with keen wit, and a resolute will; and knew when necessary, how to uphold her queenly dignity, in a way that Catherine's example could alone have imparted.

The king returned to Madrid about the middle of November. Political cares at this season pressed heavily upon the mind of Philip. He passed hours

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaux*, p. 1036. Cabrera. Florez—*Vidas de las Reynas Catolicas*.

in his cabinet in meditation ; or poring over piles of voluminous despatches sent to him from the Netherlands. From the birth of the Infanta Catalina, a shade of gloom settled over the destiny of Elizabeth. It was not that she mourned the alienation of her husband ; for the heart of Philip inclined always towards his gentle wife : but Elizabeth already descried the dark portents of events now rapidly gathering. Arrests, assassinations, and executions, had become common topics of conversation at court : and none felt themselves safe under the glance of their stern sovereign. The arrest of counts Egmont and Hoorne by command of Alba in the Low Countries, had been followed by that of Montigny at Madrid, who was conveyed to the fortress of Simancas ; the other unfortunate envoy, the marquis of Bergen having died in Madrid during the previous month of May, a victim to the humiliations and perils of his position. The prisons of the Holy Office of the Inquisition were crowded with victims : for it was Philip's resolve to tolerate no other faith throughout his empire than that of Rome. The attitude of the prince Don Carlos was sullen and menacing : no words passed between the father and the son ; but on all occasions Philip took opportunity to show his preference for Don Juan of Austria. Had any in the realm desired to demonstrate sympathy for the misguided prince, fear of the dread displeasure of the sovereign would now have prevented such manifestation.

Some months later, the king in discoursing one

day with the queen on the much debated question of his presumed journey into Flanders, took occasion sneeringly to remark: "that it might have been easily guessed by persons of discrimination that it never was his intention to journey to Flanders, as he made so many protestations and attestations of his intention to do so. It was his rule, at all times, to adjust affairs without noise, never proclaiming or boasting of his intentions. His belief was, that when great princes openly asserted their intent to do such and such things, their secret resolve was to do nothing; or at least, the very opposite, for a great miracle would be accomplished if affairs succeeded after having been so proclaimed." The king then quoted the successful accomplishment of the duke of Alba's mission in the Low Countries; and the consequent impeachment of counts Egmont and Hoorne, "which events," observed his majesty, "would never have been conducted to so satisfactory an issue if I had publicly proclaimed, and congratulated myself on the mission, and the secret instructions I had confided to the said duke."

¹ *Dépêches de Fourquevaulx*, pp. 1318 à 1333.—Ined. *Lettre à la royne mère*—8 May, 1568.

CHAPTER V.

Departure of Philip II. for El Pardo—Depression of the queen—The prince Don Carlos—His disaffection—Designs of the prince—His imprudence—His letter to the grandees of Spain—The prince plans his escape from the kingdom—Return of the king to Madrid—His treatment of his son—Proceedings of the Prince—Departure of Philip for El Escorial—Details of the plot organized by Don Carlos—Arrest of the Prince—Details—Letters sent by Philip II. to his nobles and the potentates of Europe—Elizabeth writes to her brother, Charles IX.—Letter addressed by Philip II. to the pope—Condition of the Prince—His violence—His indictment before the Council of State—Interview between Don Francisco de Alava and Catherine de Medici—Reply of the Emperor Maximilian to the notification made by Philip II.—The king retires to El Escorial—Details respecting the imprisonment of the prince—He makes his confession and communicates—Hopes of the adherents of Don Carlos—Indisposition of the queen—She joins the king at Aranjuez—Her letter to M. de Fourquevaux—Return of the royal pair to Madrid.

ON leaving Aranjuez, king Philip proceeded to El Pardo, where he made a brief sojourn. Many were the missives, it is recorded, which Philip despatched to Madrid, inquiring after the health of his consort and her infant. The absence of the king, however, grievously affected Elizabeth's spirits; her correspondence with France, moreover, was interrupted by the civil commotions; and this suspension of inter-

course occurred at a time when Elizabeth felt deep anxiety for the health of her brother, Charles IX, who had been suffering severely from intermittent fever. Sad presentiments for the future, likewise troubled the queen's repose. On all sides the shadow of evil cast its gloom. The thrill of the terrible expiation exacted from the Flemings by the merciless Alba was felt even in Madrid; and the queen herself had wept over the pathetic entreaties addressed to her by the countess of Egmont, that mercy might be extended to her unfortunate husband; a petition which Elizabeth well knew it was hopeless to prefer, as the king had sworn a solemn oath not to mitigate the decrees issued by his stern lieutenant. The conduct of Don Carlos, also, greatly increased the uneasiness of the queen. The prince appears to have frequently paid her visits at this season, which Elizabeth prudently received in the presence of the duchess of Alba. In the deportment of the prince, there was now an air of reckless defiance; while the sarcasm of his speech respecting his father—and the imprudence of the menaces which he openly uttered against some of the most influential members of the council of state, afforded the young queen a serious cause for alarm and displeasure. In truth, the mind of the unhappy prince was at this season busied in devising that scheme, which eventually gave his enemies the plea they awaited to compass his ruin. The period after the *accouchement* of the Catholic

queen, is assigned by the French ambassador, and by several of Philip's ministers in their despatches, as the season which had been selected for the resolution of many important matters connected with the prince, and with his future destiny.¹ That Don Carlos was utterly unfit to succeed to the throne of his ancestors, must be apparent to every student of his history; and that, under any circumstances, he never would have been permitted to inherit the crown of Spain, seems more than probable. "The ministers whom Carlos hated knew well that it would be their ruin should he ever ascend the throne," wrote the nuncio Castaneo.² This problem events, however, were rapidly solving; the fiery temper of Don Carlos was lashed into fury by the denial of his request, to be permitted to serve against the Flemish rebels; and by the postponement of the negotiation for his marriage with the archduchess. From the *espionnage* which beset him at the court of Madrid, the prince resolved to free himself. Unfortunately the opinion expressed by the emperor Maximilian, that Philip, on the marriage of his son, ought to cede to him either Naples, or the Low Countries in independent

¹ En outre, le sieur Vaneguas arrestera du temps que se fera le dict mariage, en quel lieu et comment, et de ce qui pourrait succéder de l'enfantement de la royne Catholique au dommage ou préjudice du prince d'Espagne. Car, parcequ'il est un peu désobéissant à son père, l'on vient, au moyen de cette suspension, attendre si la dite dame portera fils, et sur cela prendre nouvelle délibération," etc. Fourquevaulx, p. 745, MS. Bibl. Imp. (See p. 236.)

² Lettera del Nunzio, Febrajo 14, 1568, Prescott, Hist. of the Reign of Philip II.

sovereignty, dwelt in the mind of Don Carlos. If it be true, that Don Carlos held relations with the lords of the Flemish league, and was assured of their support in case he withdrew from the realm of Spain, this suggestion made by the emperor would accord with the design the prince is said to have entertained, to render himself, with the aid of Maximilian, sovereign of Flanders and its dependencies. The French ambassador mentions that one of the causes of the subsequent arrest of the prince, was the discovery of his relations with the Flemish rebels, and especially with the sieur de Montigny.¹ The prince," say Ferreras,² "hated his father with sovereign hatred, because he believed that the king opposed his marriage with Anne, his cousin german, daughter of the emperor Maximilian; his majesty deeming the prince fitted neither for marriage, nor for sovereignty." To liberate himself from a position rendered almost unbearable by his own misconduct, the prince determined upon a flight from the kingdom. His intended destination seems to have been Genoa, and from thence to Vienna, at which court Don Carlos was certain of a hearty welcome from the emperor, the empress, and his future bride. What the ulterior intentions of the prince may have been, have never positively transpired; whether, as it has been supposed by some, his hatred

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaulx*, p. 1164, Suppl. Fr. 225, MS. Bibl. Imp., 22 Janvier, 1568.—Ined.

² *Hist. de España*, tom. 9, p. 544 et suivants.

and revenge would have prompted him to side with the revolutionary party in Flanders; or whether the unhappy prince sought only a tranquil refuge from the pitiless eye of those whom he termed his "base traducers," can only be conjectured. The prince, however, projected the means of escape with his usual reckless imprudence and want of foresight. He appears not to have even sought the approbation of the emperor, without whose countenance his projects of evasion, whatever may have been their final design, must have signally failed. The prince, moreover, was totally without funds for accomplishing any enterprise of this description. At the commencement of the month of November, 1567, therefore, he addressed letters written with his own hand to certain of the grandees and prelates of Spain, stating, "that he had need of their aid and support in a contingency then close at hand," and requested to be informed whether they would serve him faithfully by reason of the oath they had taken to him as Prince, and heir of the Spains. The reply sent unanimously by the nobles, was, "that they were willing to serve his highness in any emergency or enterprise, provided that it tended not to the prejudice of the king his father."¹ This reckless proceeding was followed by the despatch of Don Garcia Alvarez Osorio, an officer of his household to Seville, to demand from

¹ Hist. de España, Ferreras, t. ix., p. 544, etc. Salazar de Mendoza, Dignidades de Castilla. Relation d'Antonio Perez. Négociations de Fourquevaux, MS. Bibl. Imp., Suppl. Fr. 225.

the authorities of the city a loan of 600,000 crowns, "for the service of the prince."¹

During these transactions, the king suddenly returned to Madrid from El Pardo, accompanied by Don Juan of Austria. The presence of his father, instead of rendering the prince sensible of the peril of his enterprise seemed to aggravate his animosity. In vain Elizabeth attempted to interpose her good offices, and to mediate between Philip and his son. The latter steadily refused to make concession whatever; while the king declined to speak to the prince either in public or in private,² though he did not forbid him the entrée at the royal receptions.

Such was the state of affairs when Don Carlos voluntarily took the resolution of confiding his project to his uncle, Don Juan of Austria. He requested his uncle to declare himself chief and leader of the party devoted to his interests; and to accompany him in his flight, promising in return the highest recompenses and rewards whenever he succeeded to the throne of his ancestors. The reckless folly of the prince in making this avowal, might have been deemed the surest safeguard against the consequences of any treasonable conspiracies in which he was

¹ Hist. de España, t. ix. p. 544, etc. Salazar de Mendoza—Dignidades de Castilla—Relation d'Antonio Perez. Négociations de Fourquevaux, MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. F. 223.

² Il est vrai que long temps avant que sa majesté partit pour l'Escorial, il ne parloit point à son fils, et y avoit très mauvaise satisfaction entre eux deux, et ne sçauroit ce prince couvrir la rancune qu'il porte à son père.—Négociations de Fourquevaux, p. 1141, Suppl. Fr. 425, MS. Bibl. Imp.

implicated ; while it must be regarded as evidence of deplorable deficiency of intellect ; to say nothing of the cruel treachery of such conduct towards those, whom as heir apparent, he had suborned from their allegiance. Don Juan replied, with great gentleness, not wishing to increase the excitement under which the prince laboured during their interview, " That it would always afford him sincere pleasure to oblige the prince ; but that the affair which he then proposed was of such vast importance and delicacy as to require mature reflection before engaging in it. It appeared to him, however, that M. le Prince had committed a grave error in addressing missives to the grandees and prelates of the realm ; as some of these said nobles were sure to place his letters in the hands of the king, who would then demand to be made acquainted with the true nature of this urgent design ; therefore, that to engage now in such matters, would be at the certain peril of their lives."¹ Don Juan was right in his conjectures ; the admiral of Castile duke de Medina de Rio Seco, and others made a journey to court expressly to lay the document in their possession before the king. Philip, however, departed to engage in his Christmas devotions at El Escorial, without taking measures to restrain his son, though cognizant of his proceedings. Don Juan accompanied the king ; being glad to remove from the vicinity of the prince, for fear of being

¹ Ferreras, *Hist. de España*, t. ix., p. 544-45-46. Relation d'Antonio Perez—MSS. Bibl. Imp., Dupuy, 661-662.

involved in his heedless schemes. The king eventually, as might have been expected, commanded his young brother, Don Juan, to relate the nature of any conference he might have holden with the prince and the proposals made him ; to all which Philip listened with feelings of great indignation.

Philip seems to have been persuaded that his son's design was to take advantage of the revolutionary movement in the Netherlands, to obtain that state in independent sovereignty, with the aid of the Emperor. So great was the exasperation occasioned by the king's tyrannous edicts, and the cruelties perpetrated by Alba, that the project of Don Carlos, instead of being regarded as chimerical, excited the keenest apprehension in the minds of Philip's ministers. Concession to the reformed party, and the toleration of their faith, must have inaugurated the rule of the Prince of Spain over the brave Netherlanders ; a conviction, which in Philip's estimation augmented the heinousness of his son's contemplated treason. Any means he might, therefore, adopt to frustrate a scheme so pernicious to the interests of the Church of Rome, Philip believed were certain to meet with support, and countenance from the pope ; and that such would, moreover, not only be tolerated, but pronounced a bounden duty, incumbent on the most Catholic monarch of Christendom. The probability that such treasonable design, on the part of the prince, might be crowned with success, was the more likely, inasmuch as the subordinate position which

their country held in respect to Spain, wounded the proud spirit of the Netherlanders. During the reign of Charles V., a Fleming born, the Netherlanders felt that it was they who had given a sovereign to Spain, rather than that Flanders had fallen from her independence to become merely an integral portion of the vast Spanish monarchy. The displeasure with which the king viewed the project of conferring an independent sovereignty upon Don Carlos, and the great desire of the latter to obtain such, are sufficiently indicated by the repeated applications of the Emperor, through his ambassador, on the subject ; by the replies of Philip, to this demand ; and by the observations made by the young queen to her mother at Bayonne, and subsequently to de Fourquevaux. The indications throughout the despatches of the ambassador de Fourquevaux, and those of Alava in the Spanish archives, afford almost irrefragable testimony that the high crime of Don Carlos, was to enforce this design by flight, and subsequent usurpation. The Low Countries, at this period, was the only portion of his father's dominions in which any treasonable projects were likely to succeed. It is also to be remarked, that, this same design subsequently possessed the mind of Don Juan of Austria—to obtain the Netherlands in independent sovereignty by the aid of Elizabeth of England. The project transpiring—Don Juan's immediate decease which followed the revelation of the plot, certainly offers an extraordinary coincidence, though

his death was pronounced to be the result of natural causes. "Some called our king prudent; others stern, because his dagger followed his smile," says Cabrera.¹ "He would, indeed, be skilful who could succeed in deceiving this king twice!"² exclaims the French ambassador. Don Carlos, had confided his plot, as far as it was then matured, in all its bearings, to his uncle. Antonio Perez, positively asserts that it regarded the insurrectionary movement in Flanders. The indirect testimony of the French ambassador, and of previous passages in the history of the unfortunate prince, corroborate this testimony; while it is, at least, singular that Don Juan of Austria should afterwards have pursued the same dangerous design as that attributed to the prince, whose confident he had been, and have perished by poison, as it is suspected on very strong evidence, when such a crime had been proved against him.

The prince, meanwhile, during the early part of the month of December, 1567, became more than usually subject to fits of gloomy dejection, and alternate frenzy. His sleep was troubled; and often he sought refuge from the anxiety, and perhaps from the misgivings which oppressed him, in the society of the young queen, for says de Fourquevaux, "*le Prince l'aime merveilleusement.*" Elizabeth mingled her tears with those of the unhappy prince; and exhorted him very earnestly to lay aside any dangerous

¹ Cabrera, Felipe II., lib. vii. cap. 22.

² *Négociations.*

design which might then occupy his mind. Don Carlos, however, instead of heeding such wise counsel, vehemently affirmed, in the presence of the queen, and also several times before the lords of his household, "that he bore five persons the most deadly hatred; and that the king his father, was the first on his list, and Ruy Gomez, the second."¹ He added, moreover, threats of future vengeance. The result of this insensate declaration, was a still more rigorous mode of *espionnage*.

Before Christmas Day it was customary for each member of the royal family to confess, and receive absolution preparatory to partaking of the Holy Sacrament on that festival. The queen usually made her confession to the Prior of the great Jeromite monastery, and attended mass in his chapel. Don Carlos, as this festival approached, declined to make confession; and, therefore was prohibited from approaching the altar. He was also heard to declare, according to the statement of one of his *ayudas de cámara*, "that he wished to kill a man with whom he had a quarrel." When questioned as to his intended victim, he preserved a moody silence. The same statement he is said to have made to Don Juan of Austria before the departure of the latter for El Escorial. On the eve of Innocents Day, 1567 in accord with the relation of the prince's groom of the chamber, Don Carlos was persuaded to go to the Jeromite monastery to

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaux*, p. 1142, 1156.—Supp. Fr. 225.—Bibl. Imp., MS. Lettre secrète au Roy, 19 Janvier, 1568.

confess and obtain absolution, so that he might receive the Sacrament in public with the queen and court. He repeated to the Prior in confession his sanguinary inclinations. Under these circumstances, his confessor refused to grant absolution, unless the prince relinquished his design, and performed penance for so heinous a desire. This Don Carlos absolutely declined. The prince then applied to another ecclesiastic, and asked for shrift, which was likewise refused. The Prior, and fourteen monks of the Dominican convent of Atocha were next summoned to San Geronimo, to take counsel on the case of the prince, who persisted in his assertion, yet wished to avoid the scandal of again being excluded from the solemn procession of the court on the approaching festival. As all the ecclesiastics pronounced the state of the prince to be one of mortal sin, his presence at the altar, in such a frame of mind, was declared impious, and a profanation. Don Carlos then coolly proposed that an unconsecrated wafer should be prepared and administered. The reverend conclave was thrown into indescribable consternation at this sacrilegious proposal. The Prior of Atocha, however, with great subtilty, calmly replied, that their decision would depend upon who his enemy might be; and that if he would confess the name, the whole affair might still be arranged to his highness's satisfaction. The prince, without hesitation, replied "that he hated the king his father; and that he was determined sooner or later to have his life." The prior asked whether

the prince had confederates; and whether he had related his design to any living soul besides the present company. Don Carlos repeated his former assertion, that he hated his father; and refused to make any other communication. The junta of ecclesiastics separated at midnight in unspeakable horror; and anxious to be relieved from the responsibility of so important a state secret, the Prior of Atocha despatched a courier to El Escorial with a minute of his interview with the prince. Such is the account given by the *ayuda de cámara* of this extraordinary proceeding: he states that he was in waiting in the apartment of the prince on the identical evening.¹

The relation which the French ambassador gives of this incident in a despatch written in cypher, and addressed to Charles IX., is the following. After relating the threats uttered publicly by Don Carlos against the king, Ruy Gomez and five other individuals, Fourquevaulx says, "It is a fact most notorious, that the said prince did not take the Holy Communion on Christmas Day; nor yet did his devotions entitle him to participate in the customary plenary indulgence. The reason is, the malice which he bears towards the said personages; neither, he said, would he pardon the injury they had done him. His confessor refused for this cause to grant him absolution. The prince upon this denial, consulted other doctors in theology; but they all very

¹ Relacion del Ayuda de camara. Llorente.—Hist. de l'Inquisition, t. 3, pp. 151-158.

peremptorily declined to absolve him. There are some who go so far as to state that the prince had deliberated to commit some parricidal attempt on the life of the king his father.”¹ If such deeds of rash imprudence on the part of Don Carlos conspiring and himself betraying his own designs, are not to be accepted as evidence of a disordered intellect, it would be difficult to indicate upon what more convincing testimony the charge could be founded.

While things remained thus in suspense, the emissary, Don Garcia de Ossorio, whom the prince had despatched to Seville returned bringing the sum of 150,000 crowns of the 600,000 demanded by Don Carlos. He brought, moreover, a promise from the persons with whom he had negotiated the loan, to transmit the remaining portion of the amount requested by bills of exchange to any part of the world where the prince might be sojourning.² Meanwhile, Fray Diego de Chaves, the confessor of the prince, after ineffectually exhorting his unhappy master to give up his design of fleeing from the kingdom; and not wishing to betray the secrets confided to his ear in the confessional, determined, as in matter of precaution, to withdraw to his monastery in Toledo. Before quitting Madrid, Fray Diego paid a visit of farewell to his kinswoman, the wife of Don Diego de Cordova, principal equerry to king Philip.

¹ Fourquevaulx, *Lettre au roy*, Suppl. F. 225.—Bibl. Imp. pp. 1145-1156.—Ined.

² Ferreras, *Hist. de España*, t. 9, pp. 544-548. Mendoza—Dignidades-Cabrera, Felipe II.

This lady conjecturing the reasons which caused the unexpected retirement of Fray Diego, immediately sent and imparted her suspicions to her husband, who was with the king at El Escorial. In silent sternness, Philip received these accumulative proofs of his son's culpable enterprise. No person penetrated the intentions of the king : but of all the high personages composing the council of state, not one member interposed to mitigate the just anger of the sovereign ; or to recal the miserable prince to a sense of his duty as a son, and a subject of the crown of Spain.

The mind of Philip was agitated by many conflicting emotions. He had learned to regard even the sight of his son as a humiliation ; much more, therefore, did he shrink from the recital of his insane exploits, so degrading to the majesty of the throne. As far as the choice of instructors and companions could mitigate the deficiency resulting from natural defects, Philip had nothing to reproach himself with in regard to his son. The most learned, pious, and illustrious men of Spain, and the Low Countries, had surrounded Don Carlos from his birth upwards. The example and admonition of the great emperor ; the maternal care of Doña Juana ; and the friendship of the young queen, had alike failed to soften the rugged temper of the prince. The Spanish people wearied of his extravagant vagaries, and deprecate his future sovereignty. In this perplexity, Philip, though he seems to have attached no belief to the charge of premeditated parricide attributed

to his son, determined to avail himself of the intercessions of the faithful. On the 13th of January, therefore, he caused prayers to be put up in the monasteries, convents, and churches of Madrid, at all the canonical hours, entreating, "that it would please the Almighty to inspire him with wisdom rightly to decide in a matter he had much at heart." "This very religious prince," says the Papal nuncio, "according to his wont, caused prayers to be put up in the different monasteries, for the guidance of Heaven in an affair of great moment."

This unusual behest might have warned Don Carlos, if any circumstance possessed weight enough to make a salutary impression on his fitful mind. Nevertheless, on Friday the 16th of January, 1568, early in the morning, the prince sent an order to Don Ramon de Tassis, director-general of posts, to have eight horses in readiness for his use during the evening of that day. Don Carlos had made so many revelations of his proposed designs, that no facts seem to have been more notorious in Madrid. Don Ramon, therefore, sent word, that as his horses were out, he could not obey the commands of his highness. The prince despatched a second, and more imperious mandate. The postmaster, therefore, ordered his horses to be removed from the stables and dispersed; while he himself hurried to El Escorial to inform the king of these proceedings.² In what direction the prince

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaux—Lettre au Roy, datée Janvier 19, 1568. MS., Bibl. Imp., Suppl. Fr. 225.—Ined.*

² *Ferreras, t. 2, p. 544 and following. Cabrera, Felipe II.*

proposed to direct his flight remains a mystery. Two roads were open to his choice ; a flight to a sea-port from whence he might embark and escape to Genoa, or Flanders—a forlorn hope, indeed, on the well guarded coasts of Spain ; or the route over the mountains into France. This passage, considering the intimate relations subsisting between the French and Spanish cabinets, and the civil war which, at this period, distracted the southern provinces of that realm, it seems little likely that the prince would select. Laredo was, in all probability, the place whither Don Carlos intended to flee. In this port was assembled the squadron of thirty-four vessels of war appointed to convey the king to the Netherlands, whenever that much talked of event took place. Besides, there was here stationed a vessel equipped expressly for the use of the Prince of Spain, in case his majesty deigned to permit his son to undertake the voyage ; another ship had been prepared for the three Imperial princes, the sons of Maximilian. The movements of the entire squadron, while it remained in port, were under the direction of Don Diego de Mendoza,¹ who, moreover, held the post of chamberlain to Don Carlos—a fact of very significant import. The plans of the prince, however, were disconcerted by the unexpected return of the king to Madrid, on Saturday the 17th of January. The intelligence brought by Ramon de Tassis, had decided Philip to

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaulx*, p. 1310-1328.—MS. Bibl. Imp., Supp. Fr. *Dépêche au Roy*, datée 18 Mai.—Ined.

adopt the measures which he subsequently pursued. Don Juan of Austria accompanied the king from the Escorial; and after visiting the Prince, he attended him into the royal presence. Philip coldly passed his son without speaking a word.¹ The contumely of this treatment roused the fiercest passion in the bosom of the prince. On quitting the presence chamber, he requested Don Juan to accompany him to his apartment. The prince led his unsuspecting companion on through eleven doors, it is stated, every one of which he carefully closed behind him. At length the pair reached a gallery; when the prince rushed savagely upon Don Juan, and presenting a pistol, tried to shoot him.² Don Juan, like the duke of Alba, valiantly closed with his assailant, and a fierce struggle ensued, the prince demanding "what had been the subject of his conversation with his majesty during their sojourn at the Escorial?" At length, Don Juan succeeded in wresting the weapon from the hand of the prince; then, without adding a word, he retreated, and again entering the royal presence chamber, related to Philip the scene that had occurred between Don Carlos and himself. The king made no reply or demonstration whatever; but rising, proceeded to

¹ "A son retour, étant Don Jehan allé chez le roy en compagnie du dict prince, comme de coutume, le dict sieur roy ne fait compte aucun du dict prince, mais se fait bien compte de Don Jehan, auquel il parla aimablement." *Dépêches de Fourquevaux*, MS. Supp. Fr., p. 1145 à 1156.—Ined., Janvier 19.

² *Ibid*, p. 1168, 5 Février, 1568.—Ined. Some authors assert that the weapon was a poignard.

the chapel to hear mass ; afterwards, he visited the queen and remained with her for some hours.

It was afterwards asserted, that so resolved was Don Carlos to avenge the suspected betrayal of his secret by Don Juan of Austria, that he had posted a man behind the tapestry hangings with an arquebuse to shoot his uncle as he fled before his own attack ; which plan had been frustrated by the unexpected retreat of Don Juan back to the king's presence chamber.¹

On Sunday the 18th of January, Philip held council early with his ministers on the affairs of Flanders ; the king, however, suffering not his intention respecting his son to transpire. He afterwards granted audience, before attending mass, to the French ambassador. The object of de Fourquevaulx's visit was to inform his Catholic majesty of the check received by the Huguenot army before St. Denis ; of the death of Montmorency ; and to convey queen Catherine's personal acknowledgments for the assistance which Philip had afforded her son in his recent extremity. The king, returned a courteous answer of some length, and ended by sending " his most affectionate commendations to queen Catherine and to her son." " It appeared to me, madame," writes Catherine's ambassador, " that the king showed as good countenance as usual ; although as we now know, he was then resolved the same night to lay hands on his son not being longer able to dissimulate,

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaulx.* Suppl. Fr. Bibl. Imp. p. 1168-9. Lettre datée 5 Février, 1568.—Ined.

nor to tolerate his follies, and the excessive licence of his youth, of which the last exploit was, a design to assassinate his uncle.”¹ After mass the king returned to his apartment, and summoned to private conference the prince of Eboli, the conde de Lerma, and Don Diego de Mendoza—whose fidelity the king appears not to have suspected—these noblemen being principal chamberlains to the prince. To these personages, Philip first disclosed his intention of arresting the prince Don Carlos, with his own hand, during the following night. Perez, in his relation of events, states that the king was unanimously entreated by these noblemen to spare his son, “because,” says he, “they believed that finally the prince would be released from prison, whatever might be his crime; and that all who had connived in his prison, would be worse treated by his highness than before.”² Philip, however, speedily silenced such officious observations, if uttered, by informing Lerma³ and Don Diego for what purpose they had been admitted to the unwonted honour of an interview. The prince, for some time past, justly apprehensive of the consequences of his enterprises, had caused the door of his bed-chamber to be furnished with bolts and locks of most ingenious description. A clever artisan, one Louis de Foix,

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaux*. Suppl. Fr. Bibl. Imp., 1168-9. Lettre datée 5 Février, 1568.—Ined.

² Antonio Perez à M. du Vair—Dupuy, 661-662.—Bibl. Imp. MSS.

³ Chief of the family of Sandoval. The conde de Lerma was afterwards created marquis de Denia by Philip II., and was the father of the great duke de Lerma, minister of Philip III.

had constructed by his command a lock which shut by a spring, and that could only be opened inside the apartment. The door was, likewise, secured by bolts, that the prince himself drew at night before retiring; and which by means of pulleys he alone unfastened from his bed in the morning.¹ It was also known to the king, that his son slept with his sword and dagger by his side; and a loaded pistol under his pillow. He had also two loaded arquebuses in a wardrobe close to the bed. Philip, therefore, commanded Lerma and Don Diego, carefully to unclosethe the door of the prince's chamber, leaving it ajar after their master had retired to rest, and to remove his sword and dagger; also the arquebuses from the wardrobe.² The cavaliers were then dismissed with such an injunction to secrecy and fidelity as the eye of Philip alone could give.

Later during the evening of the 18th summonses were sent to the duke de Feria; the grand prior of St. John, Don Antonio de Toledo, brother of the duke of Alba; to Don Luis de Quixada, señor de Villagarcia, the faithful major-domo of the deceased emperor Charles V; to Don Manrique de Lara, major-domo to Elizabeth—all members of the council of state—to

¹ Lettre de Perez, Dupuy, 661. De Thou.—Louis de Foix also declared that he had cast a book in metal for Don Carlos, heavy enough to knock a man down at one blow, and which he also kept in his chamber.

² Ragguaglio della prigionia del Principe Don Carlos d'Austria—De Madrid a 26 di Gennaro, 1568.—Bibl. Imp. MS.—Ined. Relation d'Antonio Perez. Dépêche de Fourquevaux au Roy, 19 Janvier, 1568.—Bibl. Imp. Suppl. Fr. 225, p. 1145-56.—Ined.

repair privately to confer with the king. The duke de Feria, captain of the body-guard, was directed to bring with him twelve soldiers of the guard. These personages, when assembled, were informed by the king of his intention ; and commanded to assist in its due execution. Philip's serenity of deportment never forsook him during these ominous preparations ; with great effort, and deliberately, he had formed his resolve, and no subsequent relenting impeded the vigour of his measures. Two inferior officers of the king's chamber, Santoro and Bernate, received orders from the king to provide themselves with nails and hammers, and to be in readiness to follow him. Between the hours of eleven and midnight, the king attended by the grandees above mentioned, and the prince of Eboli ; and followed by the detachment of the body-guard was observed to descend the stairs leading from his own apartment to that of the prince, wearing a suit of armour over his clothes, and a helmet on his head. The king entered the chamber of the prince without obstacle ; all his orders, having been implicitly obeyed by the chamberlains. The sword and dagger of the prince, Philip committed to the care of Santoro. The loaded pistol under the pillow of the prince, however, had still to be removed, before it was deemed prudent for the king to enter the bed-chamber. The duke de Feria, therefore, cautiously approached, followed by the guard, and seized the weapon. Roused by the noise, Don Carlos started up in bed, and demanded who was there.

Feria replied, "Alteza! the council of state!" The prince upon this uttered fierce threats and execrations, and loudly called for his arms. The eyes of the unhappy Don Carlos, however, soon rested on his father, who had meantime, entered the apartment and stood at the foot of the bed. The doors of the chamber were then closed, and the room filled with nobles and armed guards. As soon as the prince perceived his father he uttered a cry, and exclaimed, "Is your majesty here to bereave me of life, or of liberty?" "Neither the one nor the other. Compose yourself!" replied the king sternly. "What then does your majesty want with me?" asked the prince. "You will soon learn," replied the king, "my actions tend solely for your welfare." Turning then towards the two officers, Santoro and Bernate, he ordered them to nail up the windows; and to bring him the keys appertaining to the closets and coffers in the apartment of the prince. He next ordered all the furniture in the room, with which the prince could commit violence, to be removed, even to the andirons, fenders, and candlesticks. On hearing these commands, the unfortunate Don Carlos sprang wildly from his bed, and tried to throw himself into a fire, which was blazing on the hearth. The Prior Don Antonio, however, caught the prince in his arms, and carried him, almost senseless with fury, back to his bed. Don Carlos, however, after many violent struggles, succeeded in escaping from the grasp of his captor, and

throwing himself at his father's feet, with sobs of anguish, he demanded in what respect he had offended his majesty? The king, with his "accustomed forbearance," replied, by desiring his son to be composed, and to return quietly to his bed. "Kill me Majesty, kill me, rather than make me your prisoner, which will be a notable scandal!" exclaimed the unhappy prince. "If you will not kill me, I will take my own life!" "No," responded Philip, "you will not: that, indeed, would be the act of a madman!" "I am not mad; but your majesty drives me to despair by your severity," replied the prince. "In future, I treat you as a king your sovereign, and not as a father!" rejoined the stern monarch. The prince then threw himself on his bed, and his words became so drowned in tears and sighs as to be no longer audible.¹ Philip then ordered all the papers in his son's apartments to be seized, and his writing materials carried away; also a small coffer which contained his most private treasures. The king then, addressing the duke of Feria, said, "I commit the prince to your especial charge. Guard him well!" He next desired the nobles present at the arrest "to serve the prince with all proper respect; but to execute none of his orders

¹ Ragguaglio della prigionia del Principe Don Carlos, de Madrid à 26 di Gennaro, 1568. MS., Bibl. Imp.—Ined. *Relacion del Ayuda de camara—Llorente*, Hist. de l'Inquisition, t. 3. Lettera de Nobili, Gennaro 21, 1568.—MS. quoted by Mr. Prescott. *Dépêches de Fourquevaux*, p. 1148-60, p. 1168-9, p. 1328-1333.—Ined. Suppl. Fr. 225, MSS.

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without first reporting them to himself; finally, to guard him faithfully, under peril of their lives.”¹ The king then withdrew from the apartment, after receiving from each noble present an oath of fidelity and secrecy. The duke de Feria, the conde de Lerma, and Don Diego de Mendoza remained throughout the night on guard in the chamber of the prince. At daylight, strong iron bars were affixed to the windows of the apartment occupied by the prince, which was situated in a part of the palace called El Torre, over the lodgings of Doña Juana. The adjacent chamber was likewise made strong with bars and locks; and a latticed screen, of wood-work was placed to divide the two apartments instead of the usual partition, so that the duke de Feria could always have his unhappy prisoner in view. A guard of twelve halberdiers was stationed in the passage which led to this prison-chamber; the soldiers having orders to slay any who attempted to force their way into the presence of the prince, without having first displayed the royal sign manual as a pass.²

This notable execution over, on the night, or rather the morning of the 19th, the king proceeded with energy to ordain the measures requisite to follow so unusual a proceeding. An order was issued, arresting the despatch of the posts from the capital; while mandates were transmitted to the frontiers and the sea-ports of the realm, forbidding “any man, or

¹ *Dépêches de Fourquevaux. Cabrera, Felipe II. Mendoza, Dignidades.*

² *Ibid.*

living soul, to quit Spain, as it was of great moment to his majesty that the arrestation of M. le prince should not at present be divulged." The king then informed his consort of the event, and also his sister, Doña Juana. The astonishment and affliction of Elizabeth were overpowering ; and it is recorded that she wept almost without ceasing for two whole days, until commanded by the king to dry her tears.¹ Doña Juana, also, seems to have been very sorrowful. The childhood of her unfortunate nephew was spent almost entirely under her guidance ; and at one time she felt for him the greatest affection, until the outrageous menaces, and undisguised hatred of Don Carlos, alienated the princess, and made her likewise dread his future dominion. The queen and the princess had proposed to hold festival on this day, January 19th, in honour of St. Sebastian—the king of Portugal, son of Doña Juana, having been born on the feast of that saint. Elizabeth, however, was so shocked at the catastrophe, that she felt unable to leave the palace. "The queen, your daughter, madame, is deeply affected at this event ; she weeps bitterly for the love which she bears towards the father and the son."²

The greatest excitement, meanwhile, possessed each of the foreign ministers resident at Madrid. De Fourquevaulx wrote on Monday 19th, no less than

¹ Dépêche de M. de Fourquevaulx à la Roynie, 8 Fevrier, 1568—MS. Bibl. Imp., p. 1176.—Ined,

² Ibid, 22 Janvier, 1568, p. 1164, Suppl. F. 225. MS.—Ined.

three despatches to his court, one of which he addressed to king Charles, and two to Catherine de Medici ; but not a single courier was permitted by Philip to leave Madrid until after the 22nd, as he desired that the first notification to foreign courts of the important event he had decided upon, should come through his own resident ambassadors.

“Madame,” says the French ambassador, in a despatch written a few hours after the arrest of the prince,¹ “you may be pleased to remember what I wrote to you long ago, to wit—that but for public scandal and comment, the Catholic king would have committed his son to prison, on account of the disorders and excesses of his life, not being able in any way to control him. Your majesty will perceive, (by my despatch to the king) that this event has at length arrived ; for the prince is now a prisoner in his chamber ; fetters have been placed on his feet, his windows are barred, and a strong guard posted to keep every avenue to his chamber. It is reported that he is to be removed to the Moto de Medina del Campo, or to some other strong castle close to Valladolid. The king told the said prince, that he should judge him as a king, and not with the judgment of a father. I shall make effort, Madame, to arrive at the true secret of his capture. It is rumoured that the said prince wished to kill his father : also, that he desired to escape from the realm with some great per-

¹ Dépêche de M. Fourquevaulx, à la royne mère, 19 Janvier, 1568, p. 1163 and 1164.—Ined.

sonage. It may be, Madame, that this event will retard, if not quite frustrate the marriage of the said prince with the eldest princess of Bohemia. It is possible that Ruy Gomez may have foreseen this event at the time he held the discourse with me, which I transmitted a few days before the *accouchement* of the queen your daughter, saying, ‘that it must first be seen what offspring it would please God to give to the said queen, to resolve upon that matter (of the marriage) and others also.’ God loves you, Madame, and He will perfect all your holy and commendable desires, despite those who oppose themselves to you.” The restraint of official condolence which de Fourquevaux was compelled to adopt in recounting to his sovereigns the arrest of the prince of Spain, scarcely conceals the exultation he felt, that the succession to the throne was in a fair way of falling to the children of Elizabeth. He even basely insinuates that such a consolation might be present to the mind of the young queen herself in her affliction. As for the sentiments of Catherine de Medici on this subject, he seems to have no hesitation in claiming for them fellowship with his own. In another despatch, written on the evening of the same day, Monday, January 19th, the ambassador contradicts his previous statement that irons had been put on the feet of the prince. “This event, Madame, is most pitiable,” writes he, “and a great grief, and domestic tragedy, inasmuch as it is enacted between father and son. The exact cause of it cannot, at present, be precisely ascertained; for there

are not six persons in the kingdom who yet entirely know the secret; not even the queen your daughter herself.”¹

The news of the arrest of the prince was received without demonstration whatever by the people of Madrid.² In the absence of positive official statements of the cause which had driven the king to so extreme a measure, conjectures of every description became rife—an intended parricide, rebellion, and heresy were charges currently assigned against the prince during the hours following his arrest: but not one Spanish historian or statesman then, or afterwards, ascribed the prison of Don Carlos to the discovery of an unhallowed intrigue subsisting between the prince and his young step-mother. Indeed, nothing can be more utterly at variance with the facts of the case than this supposition, which first took its rise in the fervid imagination of poets and romance writers. “I know forty reasons, each one of which would be deemed valid and good for the arrest of the prince my son, which has compelled me, to my very great grief, to act as I have done!”³ said Philip, in the presence of his court a few hours after his son’s imprisonment.

The king, meantime, proceeded in the most me-

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaulx*—*Dépêche à la royne mère*, 22 Janvier, 1568—*Suppl. Fr.*, p. 25, p. 1164, *Bibl. Imp.*—*Ined.*

² Philip immediately addressed a letter to the municipality of Madrid imparting the arrest of his son, in which he stated that the event had been resolved upon, for so saintly and unavoidable a reason, as justified the measure in the eyes of God and his conscience.” See *Documentos Inéditos*, No. March, 1849.

³ *Négociations de Fourquevaulx*, 22 Janvier, *MS.*—*Ined.*

thodical manner, and with the greatest composure of spirit, to follow the course he had prescribed to himself, when determining the arrest of his son. After quitting the queen's apartment whither he had proceeded shortly after consigning the unhappy prince to the custody of the duke de Feria, Philip returned to his cabinet and prepared to grant audience to the various corporate bodies of his realm, summoned to receive notice of the catastrophe from the lips of the king himself. First, however, appeared the count de Diestrichstein, the imperial ambassador, to whom it is believed Philip partly revealed the nature of his son's misdemeanour; while he deplored the mental imbecility which obliged him, as a point of conscience and duty, to exclude from the throne of his realms, a prince so miserably afflicted. It seems, moreover, that Philip informed Diestrichstein, that the prince being unfitted in the opinion of the physicians of his realm, to transmit his rights to posterity of his own, the proposed alliance with the archduchess Anne must necessarily be relinquished—also, that it was his intention to try the sanity of his son's deeds by process before the most illustrious personages in his realm.¹ Upon the matter of the marriage between Don Carlos and the archduchess, the prince of Eboli on the fifth day of the following month of February, made a communication to de

¹ *Dépêches de Fourquevaulx*, 'p. 1164 et suivants—MS. Bibl. 22 Janvier, 1568.—Ined. *Relation de Don Adam Diestrichstein, Gestes des seigneurs de Diestrichstein.*

Fourquevaulx desiring him to inform Catherine, without naming his authority, "that the reason Philip had opposed her former desire to obtain the hand of the archduchess Anne for Charles IX., was that the king his master could not then appear to forward such a project, under pain of frustrating the design he had then formed to imprison his son, and to deprive him of the succession."¹ By this avowal it appears certain that Philip, during the past two years, had determined upon his son's arrest on account of his excesses and insane conduct; and that the measure then suddenly accomplished was taken to prevent the flight of Don Carlos from the realm—a design, which had it been attended with success, would have frustrated Philip's project; and have probably delivered the prince from the future surveillance of his father.

The king then called together the officers of his household, and of that of the queen—the authorities of Madrid, the Priors of Atocha, San Geronimo and El Escorial, and the members of the various councils for the despatch of public business, and to each personage, with tears in his eyes, he imparted the arrest of his son; taking God to witness that what he had done was to his extreme regret, and solely prompted by the love he felt towards his subjects, and his anxiety for the welfare of the monarchy.²

¹ Dépêches de Fourquevaulx, à la royne mère, 5 Février, 1568, p. 1179.
—Incd.

² Relacion del Ayuda de camara.—Llorente.

This audience over, Philip assembled his council of state, and opened before his ministers and most illustrious grandees, the complaints he had against his son. He submitted the evidence in support of his assertions, and explained his projects respecting the succession ; and in fact wholly laid before them the momentous question which he had called upon them to judge. Whatever may have been the crimes and mental aberrations of the unfortunate prince, never was there assembled to try any cause a court composed of men more prejudiced and hostile. Alba, Eboli, Espinosa, Feria, the secretary of state Vasquez, Don Juan of Austria, Tassis, Mendoza and others, were persuaded that upon the destruction of Don Carlos, and the overthrow of his right of eventual succession, depended their own salvation. The stain of such dark, and in many cases positively proved transactions, rests on the character of Philip, as must always throw doubt on the purity of his motives in this case respecting his son ; else, the palpable insanity of the prince, and the notoriety of his exploits, would justly raise doubts of extreme solicitude in the mind of any conscientious monarch, whether his duty towards his people, did not peremptorily demand the removal of a prince so afflicted and incompetent from the order of succession. Philip caused the coffer which he had taken from the apartment of the prince, to be brought and opened in the presence of the council of state. A paper was found in the handwriting of the prince,

detailing many schemes in opposition to his father's government, "for," says de Fourquevaulx, "every idea which passed through the mind of the prince, he committed it to paper ; so that by this means, revelation was made of ten thousand follies and reveries, of very strange character, which he had fostered in his mind."¹ There was, also, a letter addressed to the king, in which Don Carlos acknowledged that the reason of his proposed flight was the harsh treatment he received from his father. Copies of the letters which the prince had addressed to various nobles, and to the corporations of some of the principal towns when asking for aid to accomplish "his design," were likewise found. The most important document in the coffer, however, was a list of the persons whom the unhappy prince deemed hostile or friendly to his interests. Foremost amongst his friends the prince ranked his step-mother the young queen, Don Juan of Austria and Suarez. The names of his enemies, which he was imprudent enough to note, must have weighed fearfully to his disadvantage, in the judgment about to be recorded. Amongst those whom Don Carlos intended "to pursue unto death," were the names of Alba, the prince and princess of Eboli, Espinosa, President of the council of state, and that of the king his father.² The remaining contents of the coffer consisted of a sum of thirty-six thousand crowns in gold ; a diamond

¹ *Négociations*, p. 1168 et suiv —MS. Bibl. Imp.—Ined.

² *Lettera del Nunzio*, Marzo 2, 1568, quoted by Prescott.

worth twenty-five thousand crowns ; several rings set with costly jewels, and a few Portuguese coins. Such is the account given by the nuncio Castaneo, of the contents of the coffer ; a relation confirmed in every respect by De Fourquevaulx, with the exception only that the French ambassador, states that nothing was there discovered which implicated the prince in any design upon the person of his majesty, or of the Catholic queen.¹

Brantôme relates on the authority of a certain grandee of Spain, that when the king had demanded the advice of his council on the measures to be adopted respecting the prince, that some of the members advised the king to detain his son in perpetual captivity ; others to give him the realm of Naples ; another, counselled the king to send Don Carlos to fight the Moors, and to give him Oran in sovereignty. Philip rejected all these propositions, adding “ that as for detaining the prince in perpetual captivity, that was not feasible ; as there was no cage or prison in his realm, which would long hold so infuriated and devil-possessed a lion-spirit as that of his son.”²

The following day, Tuesday, January 20th, Philip was engaged in writing with his own hand to the Pope, the sovereigns of Europe his nearest kindred, and to his ambassadors at all the principal courts, imparting the arrest of the prince Don Carlos.

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaulx*, p. 1168, etc., 5 Février, 1568.—Ined.

² Brantôme, *Hommes Illustres*, Vie de Don Carlos.

These letters are documents of great interest, and importance; though the cautious manner in which the king avoids any real explanation of the true cause of the imprisonment of his son, must have given great indignation to the parties so addressed. At the command of her consort, the queen undertook to inform her brother of the grievous event: for Elizabeth's sorrow was genuine; and she regarded the act which the king had believed himself bound to execute, as a calamitous disgrace to the royal house of Spain. "Nevertheless, madame," says the egotistical Fourquevaulx, "your daughter conducts herself with such prudence, displaying not the slightest symptom of joy, although the misfortune of the prince is very advantageous to her and to her children, but conforming in all things to the will of the king her lord."¹ Elizabeth wrote the following letter to Charles IX. On the previous day, as soon as the arrest of the prince was known to her, she had written to beg the French ambassador to wait until she sent him a letter to forward; desiring to soften the effect of the prohibition issued by the king against the departure of any couriers but his own from Madrid, until after the third day of his son's captivity.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF SPAIN, TO CHARLES IX.

"Monsieur,

"The King my lord, has commanded me to write this

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaulx*, p. 1176, Février 8, 1568. MS. Bibl. Imp.—Ined.

letter (although by the same courier, I have already sent to you two letters), to inform your majesty, that he has been constrained by the actions of the Prince his son to commit him to prison, and to place guards over him—a resolution, which, as you may suppose, he has adopted with great grief and reluctance. The prince, however, used such dissimulation, that at last he gave occasion for that which has been executed, as you will learn from the ambassador of the king my lord. As for myself, I am able to tell you nothing, except that I cannot console myself under so great a misfortune, which I esteem my own, more than that of any other person, from the friendship which I bear the prince, and the many obligations I feel to owe him. As I may not say more, I pray it may now please you, that I kiss your hands,

“Votre humble sœur,

“ELIZABETH.”¹

This letter, though feelingly written, expresses only the legitimate degree of attachment which might reasonably be supposed to subsist between Elizabeth and her step-son—over whose mind her influence had been paramount, except in those matters, unhappily, where his most vital interests were concerned. The tone of Elizabeth's letter, however, is that of an unwilling correspondent: she was not permitted by her husband to impart the facts of the accusation against Don Carlos; and, therefore, the queen, in her grief

¹ La Verdet, Catalogue d'Autographes, No. 305, vente du 7 Septembre, 1854 à Paris. MS. Ined. The original of this curious document was sold in Paris on the above date. The author is ignorant into whose possession, or into what public collection this interesting and valuable letter has passed.

and consternation, shrank from making any statement upon so painful and mysterious a matter. The letters which Philip addressed to foreign courts, and to his own ecclesiastics and nobles, were of the same vague nature—all covertly hinting at some great crime committed by the prince, but laying principal stress on his mental incapacity. To his viceroy of Naples, the duke de Alcalà, Philip writes, “that the resolution he had taken to imprison his son arose from a cause so just, and of such immense urgency, and of so binding a nature, that he could not avoid having recourse to that extreme remedy, holding and believing that such act would most conduce to the service of God, and to the public weal.”¹ To the duke of Alba, Philip makes the same communication. To the queen-dowager of Portugal, Catherine, sister of the deceased emperor, and grandmother to Don Carlos, the king wrote a long letter. This princess inherited the great talents of her race; and though her skilful administration of the realm of Portugal during the minority of her grandson Sebastian had procured her deference from the cabinet of Madrid, yet she was regarded in Spain as the usurper of the undoubted rights of Doña Juana, mother of the young king. Philip’s letter to his aunt is a specimen of admirable diplomacy. He says, “Although it has long appeared necessary to me, and to others, to take some means to restrain the disorders of the prince

¹ MSS. Italien—Bibl. Imp. F. St. Victor. No. 1068.—Lettera del Re Catolico à Don Parafon de Ribera Duca d’Alcalà, Virrey de Napoli.

my son, yet the love of a father, and the responsibility of such a procedure, have hitherto restrained me, while using all other means, remedies, and expedients to avoid so lamentable a necessity. Nevertheless, affairs have recently come to such a pass, that, in order to discharge the obligations and duty that I owe to God, to all Christian princes, and towards the realms which have been placed under my sceptre, I could no longer excuse myself in conscience from effecting his arrest; though with what sentiments of grief I have come to this decision, Vtra. Alteza may judge, from the sorrow which afflicts your own mind. I have, however, made sacrifice to God of my own flesh and blood, preferring His service, and the public good, to every human consideration. The past misdeeds of the Prince, as well as his fresh offences, which have compelled me to adopt the resolution, are of such a nature that I cannot recount them; nor yet will your highness (when some day they may be made known to you) hear the relation without grief and anger.¹ To your highness alone,² have I

¹ En fin, yo lo he querido hazer en esta parte sacrificio a Dios de mi propia carne y sangre, y preferir su servicio y el bien publico a las otras consideraciones humanas. Las cosas antiguas, como las que de nuevo han trevenido, que me han constreñido a tomar esta resolucion son tales, y de tal qualidad, que ne yo las podria dezir, ne vuestra alteza oyr, sin renovar el dolor, y la sana, de mas que a un tiempo las entendiera.

² The intricate alliances between the Spanish and Portuguese royal houses are often most perplexing. Catherine, sister of Charles V. married John III. of Portugal. Her son John married Doña Juana, sister of Philip II., and her daughter Doña Maria was the mother of Don Carlos. Catherine, queen of Portugal was, therefore, aunt and mother-in-law to Doña Juana and Philip II.

thought it requisite to add, that the foundation of this my determination (to imprison the prince) springs not from any crime, disobedience, or excess committed by my said son ; nor has it been undertaken by way of chastisement (though, even on this ground, there is sufficient to authorize the measure), which might have its time and limits ; neither have I so decided in the hope thus to procure the reformation of the disorders and excesses of his life. This affair rests altogether on other principles and foundations, the solution of which depends not on time, nor expedients ; but is an event of the highest importance and consideration, in order that I may discharge the responsibilities which I owe to God, and to my said realms.”¹

In this important letter, Philip seems at once to clear up all doubt as to the cause of his son's arrest : he states, that the primary reasons which have led him to ordain the captivity of the prince, take not rise in “crime, disobedience, or excesses ;” his decision, therefore, can be ascribed only to his conviction of the insanity of Don Carlos, and his knowledge that, for many reasons, he was unfit eventually to reign. The king, however, also alludes to “fresh offences which have moved him to adopt the resolution, though they formed not its primary cause, and which are of such a nature that the queen of Portugal will not learn them without grief and anger.” This passage, also, seems plainly to allude to the intentions of the prince to fly the realm, and, by the help of

¹ MS. Italien, Bibl. Imp.—Fonds St. Victor—No. 1068.

Maximilian II., to render himself independent of his father, by the usurpation of one of the territories of the Spanish crown. The king, moreover, wrote to the emperor and empress, so curtly, however, that they manifested displeasure and surprise. Indeed, with respect to his sister the empress, Philip seems to have confined himself to the statements which he had, in the first instance made to Dietrichstein: probably he regarded the Imperial pair as the abettors of his son's projects. To the pope, however, Philip vouchsafed more explanation, mingled with fervent protestations of righteous intents in the measure he had sanctioned. He wrote thus to his Holiness :—

PHILIP II. TO HIS HOLINESS PIUS V.

“ Most Holy Father.

“ In virtue of the obedience which all Christian princes, owe to your Holiness, and to our holy church, and that which I bear you in particular, being your devout and obedient son, I deem it meet to render you account as to a father, of all my actions and deeds, and especially of any notable events which may occur. It has, therefore, appeared to me good to make known to your Holiness the resolution that I have taken to arrest (*recoger*¹), and imprison the most serene prince Don Carlos my eldest son, for the satisfaction of your Holiness, and that you may judge my deed with truth and impartiality, according to my desire. In judging this matter, the consideration, nevertheless, ought to suffice that I am a father; and, therefore, deeply interested in all that concerns the

¹ The use of the word *recoger* is remarkable, as one of its meanings is “ to shut up in a mad-house.”

honour and repute of the said prince ; added to which, your Holiness, and all the world knows and understands that it is foreign to my disposition to take umbrage unnecessarily ; or to proceed in matters of such moment without great deliberation and necessity. Besides, your Holiness should understand that throughout the childhood of the said prince up to the present day, in nurture, education, the choice of servants, companions, and council, and in the direction of his daily life, and manners, I have bestowed the utmost care and solicitude for the instruction of the said prince, as it was suitable to do for my eldest son, heir to so many kingdoms and royalties. Moreover, I have availed myself of every remedy and method, to repress and procure his reformation from certain excesses and disorders of life, *which are the result of his natural and peculiar temperament* so far as was meet and possible. Up to the present period I had hope of success ; but now the Prince having passed all bounds, it appeared to me that I had no other resource—to fulfil the obedience which I owe to God, and for the welfare of my realms—than to take the resolve, with the grief and anguish which your Holiness may imagine, he being my eldest and only son, to secure his person. This decision I took upon such unimpeachable grounds, and for so serious and equitable a cause, that if I were with your Holiness, I hold it for certain you would pronounce my decision just ; and one of paramount importance for the service of God, and the public welfare ; which in truth it is. Of the consequences of this event, I will hold your Holiness well informed at all opportune periods.

I will now add only an entreaty, that as your Holiness is bound to consider my enterprises your own, I being your very devoted son—you will commend me in your prayers to God our Lord, beseeching that he may aid me ;

and that I may accomplish all things according to His holy will. May He defend the sacred person of your Holiness from evil, and prolong your days, for the prosperous government of His most Holy Catholic Church.

“Written at Madrid this 20th day of January, 1568.

“From your Holiness’s very humble and devoted son.

“Don Felipe, by the grace of God king of Spain, of the two Sicilies, and of Jerusalem, *que su santo pies y mano beso*,

“EL REY.”¹

This epistle was accompanied by a second, addressed to Zuniga, Philip’s ambassador at the papal court, in which the king observed “that nothing but stern necessity could have induced him so to act towards his first-born and only son.” The legate Castaneo, meantime, was anxiously investigating the immediate cause of the prince’s arrest. The greatest reserve was observed by Philip and his ministers towards the foreign ambassadors, excepting with de Fourquevaulx, who was supposed, and it appears from the tone of his despatches justly so, as not being in reality inimical to a proceeding which would so greatly benefit the Catholic queen, and her offspring. The nuncio, conversing one day confidentially with Espinosa president of the council, observed, “that which we hear every day of the prince’s plot against his father’s life is a strange story.” “It would be of little moment if the danger to the king were all, as it would be easy to protect his person. The present case is worse, if worse can

¹ MS. F. de St. Victor, No. 1068—1ned. Bibl. Imp.

be, and the king, who has watched the bad courses which his son has taken these two years past, has vainly tried to remedy it, till finding himself unable to exercise any control over the wild and reckless mind of his son, he has been forced to this expedient,"¹ replied the cardinal. In such writings and discourse, passed the three days subsequent to the imprisonment of Don Carlos. On the night of his arrest, the conde de Lerma, Don Diego de Mendoza, and Feria, remained on guard in his chamber. The frenzy of the prince was desperate; he wept, raved, and showered imprecations on his father, and on the prince of Eboli, whom he accused of being the cause of all his misfortunes.

On the 25th of January, six days after the arrest, Philip relieved the duke de Feria from further responsibility, by committing his son to the sole custody of the prince of Eboli, who for years had been state governor to Don Carlos, though he was deemed by the latter his greatest enemy. Ruy Gomez, with his wife and family, removed from his Hotel in Madrid to the palace, and took possession of the suite of chambers belonging to the prince, in the last of which his unfortunate prisoner was immured.² Thus, no one could have access to the prince without traversing the chambers in the

¹ Lettera del Nunzio, Gennajo 25, 1568, quoted by Prescott, reign o Philip II.

² Ragguaglio della prigionia del Principe Don Carlos, Madrid, 26 Gennajo.—MS. Bibl. Imp. Dépêches de Fourquevaulx, p. 1168. Cabrera. Ferreras.—Florez.

occupation of the prince and princess of Eboli. Six noblemen were, moreover, appointed to keep guard, two at a time, over the prince, and to entertain him by their conversation during the day. These cavaliers were selected from the chief nobles of the realm ; and it can scarcely be credited that if Philip had formed a deliberate design to destroy his unfortunate son in secret, that he should have surrounded himself with so many witnesses, whose testimony hereafter would have been regarded as unimpeachable. Viler agents might easily have been at the command of the sovereign for so dark a purpose. The nobles appointed were, Don Gomez de Sandoval conde de Lerma, Don Roderigo de Mendoza brother of the duke de Infantado, Don Juan de Borgia, brother of the duke de Gandia, Don Roderigo de Benavides, brother of the conde de Santistevan, Don Gonzalez Chacon, brother of the conde de Montalvan, and Don Francisco Manrique, brother of the conde de Paredes. All these cavaliers took oath before the prince of Eboli, to preserve the secrets of the prison chamber from the world without ; to refrain from canvassing with the prince the causes of his prison ; and to receive no message, or deliver any. They were commanded to treat Don Carlos with the utmost respect ; to wear no sword or dagger when in his presence ; and to wait upon him diligently during his repasts. The dishes served at the table of the prince, were brought to the door of the saloon opening into the ante-chamber of his apartment, by

the clerks of his kitchen, and delivered to the two nobles in waiting, who placed the meat before their prisoner. The meat was cut; for the prince was allowed no knife at his meals, in consequence of his threats to slay himself. Without, the door of the prince's chamber was guarded; and in the adjacent corridors twelve of the royal body-guard kept perpetual watch.¹ The prince of Eboli, had the superintendence of all these regulations; he, in his turn, having sworn fidelity in the presence of Philip. Ruy Gomez possessed a master key which admitted him at all hours into the apartment of his prisoner; and enabled him to convince himself that the nobles on guard were faithful and vigilant in the discharge of their duty. Olivarez, the physician of the prince, and his barber, and valet, were moreover allowed access to the chamber at stated intervals; but all, to the very lowest menial employed in the service of the prisoner of El Torre, took oath to maintain inviolable secrecy; and to convey to him no message, under forfeiture of their possessions and lives. Don Carlos was abundantly supplied with books of devotion, breviaries, and psalters. His rings were restored to him; likewise the money found in the coffer.

On the 26th, the day following the issue of this code of regulations, the king declared the household of the prince dissolved. His officers were dismissed;

¹ *Dépêches de Fourquevaulx*, p. 1168. Ferreras, de Espana. Cabrera, Felipe II. *Ragguaglio della prigione del principa Don Carlos*.—MS.

his menial servants discharged ; and his horses, which were numerous and valuable, were distributed between the king, the queen, Doña Juana, and Don John. The violence of the prince's conduct continued. He refused to eat, and carried his abstinence so far as to alarm his attendants. He tried several times to kill himself ; and far from being employed in the perusal of the religious books so bountifully supplied, he declined to attend to pious devotions, and even refused to confess, or confer with any ecclesiastic. It was in vain that the exhortations of the prince's confessor inculcated submission and penitence ; the excitement of the prisoner, and his threats of future retaliation on all concerned in his detention, served but still more hopelessly to bar his prison.

The king, meanwhile, appointed cardinal Espinosa, and the prince of Eboli, as chiefs of the tribunal, composed of members of the council of state, appointed to try the prince ; and it is stated that the indictment was drawn by the royal counsellor Bribiesca de Muñatones. Its form was copied from the process instituted by John II, king of Arragon, against his son the unfortunate Don Carlos, prince of Viana. The depositions were made in the presence of Philip who daily presided at the council ; and when all the testimony was heard and reduced to writing, it formed a heap of paper a foot and a half in thickness—at least, such is the statement of the *ayuda-de-camara*.¹ The opinion that the charge of heresy,

¹ On a careful perusal of the correspondence of de Fourquevaux, and

held a prominent place in the indictment does not seem tenable, nor founded on any documentary evidence extant; except insomuch as the suspected design of the prince to render himself master of the Low Countries, by concession to the "Lutheran Sectaries," might be construed into an avowed sympathy with their tenets. In the rigid and orthodox court of Spain, guarded by the vigilant Inquisition, no taint of heresy was permitted to sully the prayers of the faithful; theological questions, moreover, were matters little likely to have attracted the wandering, and ill-poised mind of the prince of Spain. The only occasions when it seems possible that Don Carlos could have been brought beneath the influence of opinions so denounced are during the sojourn of Egmont and Montigny at the Spanish court; and from the lessons of his unfortunate sub-preceptor Don

the despatches of Alava, and other of Philip's ministers, eight distinct charges may be ascertained as having formed a part of this voluminous indictment, or causes of complaint, preferred by the king against "his first-born and only son." 1. The insanity of the prince, considering the direful results which must ensue therefrom, in case of his accession to the throne of Spain. 2. The demand made by the prince, and supported by the emperor Maximilian, that an independent sovereignty should be assigned to him on his marriage, with permission to reside out of the realm of Spain, which, with the help of the emperor, he was preparing to exact from his father. 3. His unfitness to contract marriage. 4. The insane threats of the prince to wreak vengeance on the principal nobles of the realm; and his hatred of the king his father. 5. His relations with the rebels of Flanders. 6. His intent to flee from the kingdom. 7. His imprudent enthusiasm respecting the queen his step-mother. 8. The avowed intention of the prince, in case he was left behind, during his father's absence in Flanders, to raise turbulent demonstrations against the government of the queen, or that of the princess Doña Juana.

Antonio de Rojas, who expiated his alleged heresy, on the Campo Grande of Valladolid, in 1566.

The subjects discussed at this season at the council-board of the king of Spain, were fraught with terrible interest. His state prisons and the dungeons of the Holy Office, harboured individuals whose mysterious fate, recent revelations of state documents never meant for the public eye, and the researches of the learned, are now only slowly unveiling. In the Alcazar of Madrid, he held captive his son, heir to the imperial sceptre of Charles V. At Simancas, languished the unhappy baron de Montigny, the envoy from the states of the Netherlands; while the primate of Spain, Carranza archbishop of Toledo, had but recently exchanged a dungeon in the prisons of the Holy Office at Valladolid, for a less rigorous captivity in Rome, under the *surveillance* of the Spanish ambassador Zuniga. The prisons of the Low Countries teemed with illustrious victims. Egmont and Hoorne, were incarcerated in the citadel of Ghent; while the merciless decrees of the Council of Blood, filled the land with wailing and terror. In his forts on the African coast, many Moorish chieftains waited in chains for the pitiless mandate of the most Catholic king. The fanaticism of his faith sealed Philip's heart to the pleadings of mercy; while the Church pronounced his deeds very blessed—and his heavenly reward, these glorious gifts surpassing the understanding of man to realize. "Señor!"

frequently exclaimed Espinosa, president of Philip's council of state, and grand inquisitor, "your royal clemency becomes a mortal sin, when you are called to avenge outrages done to our most holy faith !"

The health of the young queen became, at length, affected by the distress and agitation of this period. Elizabeth and Doña Juana wept together ; and in concert made many endeavours to see the unfortunate prince. Philip, however, sternly refused to allow access to the prison tower of his son to any. He seems, however, to have treated the queen, with great tenderness and consideration ; and to have explained many matters to her majesty in secret. The queen on her side promised to resign herself to the will of her husband, in this, as in other matters, and to weep no more. The little infanta Isabel, "the light and joy of her father's heart," was flourishing in health and growth, and promising to become "a most noble and gracious lady." Moreover, Elizabeth was again in a condition to inspire the hope that a worthier heir to king Philip's monarchies, than the wretched captive of El Torre, might speedily be born. The health of the queen, however, inspired at times serious apprehension. At the latter end of January, Elizabeth was suddenly seized with a partial numbness of the left side, extending up the arm : this, and other symptoms gave great uneasiness to the queen's physicians, and at their desire Elizabeth kept her

chamber for upwards of five days, seeing no one excepting the king her husband, and the French ambassador.

During this interval, the replies sent by the various potentates of Europe to the notification the king had made of the prison of the prince, occupied Philip's attention. In France, the news created immense excitement, both on account of its political bearings, and the influence it exercised on the destiny of Elizabeth's offspring. The Spanish ambassador Alava, always malevolent in his dealings with Catherine de Medici, took the opportunity to offer another of his accustomed slights to the queen. "M. de Fourquevaulx," writes Charles IX. to his ambassador.¹ "I deem that which you wrote to me concerning the prison of the prince of Spain, to be the strangest and most surprising event I have ever heard ; and, moreover, one which I should have supposed could never fall to the hearing of any man, in respect to what you tell me concerning the cause of his arrest which I desire much to ascertain specially. For this reason, I forward to you this despatch, to pray you to send me express information of the truth ; and also of what has been done since you last wrote to me. The ambassador, Don Francisco de Alava, sent to ask me for audience, which I granted, esteeming that he was coming to discuss this event in detail, as the queen my sister wrote us word, that he had been

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaulx*, p. 1258-1260, 13 Février.—MS. Bibl. Imp., Suppl. Fr.—Ined.

commanded so to do, by his master. He, however, made pretence to avoid the subject altogether, until he discovered, by certain observations of mine, that I had been admonished by you of the matter. He then began to enter upon some comment; but in such fashion, that I soon perceived he had no intention that we should bite the cherry. He merely observed, that the cause of the prison of the prince, was certain dissatisfactions between the father and the son, and which were easy of adjustment. As for that which regards my own sentiments, you will easily believe, M. l'ambassadeur, that I sincerely pity all parties concerned in this affair, and shall feel great contentment, should the matter really prove to be only trivial; but I esteemed that the Spanish ambassador, was not justified in speaking so coldly, and with reserve on a subject which he knows must eventually be imparted to me in detail. It was my intention, had he spoken frankly on the matter, by the command of his master, to send a gentleman to condole with the king, my brother-in-law, and with the queen my sister, in their affliction; now I shall wait until I am better informed by you on the matter." Catherine wrote a similar despatch to de Fourquevaulx, desiring him to communicate Alava's offensive deportment to the queen her daughter; she also sent a letter of condolence to Philip.¹ Elizabeth, accordingly, complained to the king, her husband,

¹ Archives de Simancas, 1393, A. B., 22, No. 110. Catherine de Medici à Philippe II.—Ined.

and begged that Alava might be reprimanded. The king, after some demur, desired her to express to her mother "his deep regret at the conduct of his ambassador, as he himself would not have presumed so to behave towards her majesty,"¹ Alava, however, who de Fourquevaulx says, "must have possessed the king by enchantments, inasmuch as his majesty thought all he did holy and right," wrote despatches to his royal master, which reached Madrid at the same time as those brought by Charles's courier. He there recounts his first interview with Charles and his mother. "This queen, mi Señor," writes he, "made surprising demonstrations of affliction on hearing the detention of su Alteza, though she might have excused herself from making such exhibition, as four or five days ago I presented letters from your majesty, both to the mother and to the king her son. I made my statement to their Christian majesties, who appeared to be much disconcerted, particularly the queen. She told me that the relation which she had heard, differed much from mine. She then hesitated and grew confused; but, at length, said that "she had been well informed that the arrest of his Highness was caused by his refusal to confess, and to communicate on Christmas-day, with other trifles of a similar nature; and also that his highness had made resolution to withdraw from Spain, to certain countries, after having first executed an enterprise, the nature

¹ Dépêche de Fourquevaulx, p. 1231. A la Royné, 18 Février, 1568.
—MS. Bibl. Imp.—Ined.

of which was not understood. I could not succeed in drawing from her majesty more than this.” If Alava were sincere in his discourse with Catherine de Medici, it would appear that the misdemeanour of the prince was not to be ascribed to his obduracy in religious matters; an accusation which the ambassador scoffingly alludes to as “*cosillas de este jaez de fe* :” he seems, however, to have been more guarded in deprecating Catherine’s concluding observation.

On the 26th of February, Alava had another conversation with the cardinal de Lorraine, respecting the imprisonment of the prince, which he punctually transmitted to Madrid. “M. le cardinal de Lorraine,” writes he to his royal master,² “said to me that the queen, his mistress, had stated to him the reason of the detention of su Alteza; which I found accorded with that I myself had told her majesty. He then, with much show of secrecy, asked me if the said queen comprehended the matter in any degree; saying, that she had told him that su Alteza was maddened with fury, that he tore his flesh, and shouted with rage at finding himself a prisoner; and that in reply to those who asked him why he acted thus, his highness threw himself upon them, and replied, “That he did so because he was a madman!” I replied, “that this was a false statement altogether.” Despite the bold denial

¹ Don Francisco de Alava à Felipe II., 16 Feb. 1568. Archives de Simancas. K. 1394. A. B. 22, No. 86, p. 1.—Ined.

² Don Francisco de Alava à Felipe II, Feb. 28, 1568. Archives de Simancas, K. 1394, A. B., 22, No. 87.—Ined.

of Alava, Catherine had, perhaps, unwittingly asserted a true fact, in her declaration respecting the prisoner of El Torre. Perceiving that Charles and the queen, his mother, were highly displeased at the reserve shown towards them, Philip sent the prince of Eboli to Fourquevaux, to make an official communication for the ambassador to transmit to his court; and which is, to all appearance, a true statement, though not quite all the truth. “Sire, the Catholic king desiring that your majesty should be informed of the true reason, of his son’s arrest, he caused me to be informed, through Ruy Gomez, on the 27th of last month, “that for the past three years his majesty had observed that the said prince suffered a greater mental than personal disfigurement; and that he was never in possession of his complete understanding, as his actions testified. His majesty beholding this with infinite sorrow, had nevertheless been long silent, trusting that years might supply this deficiency of intellect and discretion. Unfortunately, the wishes of the king had not been fulfilled; but, on the contrary, matters had daily become worse; so that his majesty having lost all reasonable hope that his son would reform, and prove himself worthy to succeed to the rule of so many kingdoms, and states—the which would bring unspeakable miseries on his majesty’s subjects, and utter ruin to the said realms—had resolved, after much deliberation, and to his inexpressible regret, to try another method, which was to confine

the said prince within the limits of one spacious chamber in the palace of Madrid, situated above the apartment usually occupied by madame la Princesse, where the said prince, would, for the future, be treated as appertained to his birth ; yet, at the same time, be so strictly guarded, that it would be out of his power to harm any person ; nor yet to fly from Spain, as he had deliberated to do. The said Ruy Gomez, requested me to write this communication, without curtailments, to your majesty," says de Fourquevaux.¹ That Don Carlos was regarded by his father as a dangerous lunatic—malevolent, as far as regarded himself, and those personages whom he had sworn "to pursue unto the death," seems to admit of no doubt after the perusal of this communication, and Philip's letter to the queen dowager of Portugal.

This latter personage wrote to the king a letter filled with condolence, and extenuation for the conduct of Don Carlos. The queen even offered to come to Madrid, and take maternal charge of the prince her grandson. Philip, however, curtly informed his royal relative, that she might spare herself that trouble. The pope, in answer to the king's despatch, intimated to the Spanish ambassador Zuñiga, that he was by no means satisfied with Philip's explanation, and desired to hear positive facts concerning the crime of his son, by a second

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaux*, MS. Bibl. Imp., Suppl. Fr. 225, p. 1268, 5 Février.—Ined.

letter under his majesty's own hand.¹ Philip hastened to obey the pontifical mandate, and forthwith wrote in cypher a full statement of his intentions relative to his son, which the pope, if unable to read, was requested to refer to cardinal Granvelle, who was then resident at Rome. This epistle has never been discovered. That its contents satisfied Pius V., is obvious from the communication subsequently addressed by Zuñiga to his royal master. "His holiness," says the ambassador, "greatly lauds the course taken by your majesty; for he feels that the preservation of Christianity depends on your majesty living many years, and on having a successor who will tread in your footsteps."² The emperor and the empress, as parties most interested in the welfare of the prince, showed themselves in the highest degree aggrieved and indignant. They wrote word to Philip that "they deeply regretted the extreme measure his Catholic majesty had thought proper to adopt respecting the prince his son; nevertheless, that they hoped the prince would be released from captivity at a period judged expedient by his father; and that this paternal correction might be attended by good and satisfactory results."³ The Imperial pair, moreover, requested the king to send back their sons the

¹ Carta de Zuñiga al Rey, 28 de Abril, 1568.—MS. de Simancas, quoted by Prescott.

² Ibid., Junio 25.

³ Négociations de Fourquevaux, 18 Mai, 1568. Lettre au Roy, p. 1310 à 1528.—Ined.

archdukes, who had been sojourning in the Spanish court ever since the sickness of Don Carlos in 1564. The ambassador Dietrichstein was commanded to repeat this demand until it was complied with ; their imperial majesties wishing to have their sons under their own guardianship. Philip replied, by requesting his brother Maximilian to leave the princes in Spain for the present, to console him under his present affliction ; adding, moreover, that when he made his journey into Flanders, he would personally restore his nephews the archdukes to their parents.¹ The king also remarked, that the archduke Rodolph, being betrothed to his daughter Doña Isabel, he had a right to expect the comfort of his elder nephew's presence.

On being informed that the opinion generally prevailed in foreign courts that his unhappy son had been arrested in consequence of his connivance in a plot to assassinate his father, Philip promptly caused the report to be contradicted by his ambassadors at foreign courts ; and also by the prince of Eboli to the envoys of the European powers at Madrid. The king, likewise, declined to receive addresses of condolence from the authorities of the great towns of his realm ; "because," as his majesty said, "having acted for the good of the nation, he required no condolence." The states of Arragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, having presumed to despatch members to inquire into the cause of the arrest of his

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaux*, April 13.

Highness, and likewise to supplicate the king to release his son ; the deputation received, on its way, so pungent an intimation of Philip's sense of its officious interference, that the members, having a due regard for their safety, were induced to return home.¹ A letter of condolence, however, from the municipality of Murcia, was courteously accepted : so skilfully had the Murcian authorities adapted their language to the sentiments and opinions of their royal master, that Philip, with his own hand, wrote on the margin of the address, " This letter is written and conceived in a spirit of prudence and discretion."² All mention of Don Carlos from the pulpits of Spain was severely interdicted. His name, however, was still retained in the litanies of the church, where it was joined with that of Philip thus : "*Tuos Serventes, Philippum Regem nostrum Regnum, et Principum nostrum cum prole Regia, etc.*"³

Don John of Austria had retired from the capital after the arrest of the prince. When he returned, at the commencement of February, he attired himself in deep mourning garments, and presented himself before the king. Philip coldly surveyed the prince in silence ; he then ordered him to retire, and array himself in his customary habiliments. No alteration was made in the court receptions ; excepting in those relaxations of etiquette rendered indispensable by the

¹ Négociations de Fourquevaux, April 13.

² Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, t. III., page 161.

³ Lettre de Fourquevaux au Roy, Négociations, p. 1273, 26 Mars.

delicate condition of the queen's health. "The prince of Spain," says de Fourquevaulx,¹ "is nearly forgotten; no one speaks about him, so that he might never have been born." But the chambers of the vast palace of Madrid—the Alcazar which had proved so dreary a prison to Francis I.—echoed to the moans and plaints of the unhappy prince. He still persisted in rejecting all but the most insignificant quantity of food; and he refused to open the missals, and saintly legends, supplied for his perusal. Philip shuddered on learning the condition of his son's mind; and gave orders that his almoner Suarez, should have permission to address him. Accordingly, Suarez put forth his most persuasive arguments to induce Don Carlos to attend to his spiritual devotions. "What will the world say," pleads the pious almoner, "when it shall learn that you now refuse to confess; and when, too, it shall discover other dreadful things of which you have been guilty, some of which are of such a nature, that did they concern any other than your Highness, the Holy Office would be led to inquire whether the author of them were in truth a Christian?"²

The exhortations of the good doctor proved unavailing; throughout the months of February and March, the mental excitement and violent conduct of the prince defied restraint. He suffered throughout

¹ Lettre de Fourquevaulx au roy, *Négociations*, p. 1273, 20 Mars.

² Carta de Hernan Suarez de Toledo al principe, Marzo 18, MS., vide Prescott's Philip II. p. 432.

this period from bilious fever—a malady which clung to him, and had proved his bane from childhood upwards. The ambassador, de Fourquevaulx, in a letter dated March 26th, writes : “ Sire, in respect to the prince of Spain, it is difficult to obtain any intelligence ; for it is forbidden, on peril of death, to report or mention anything which the said prince does or says. Even her majesty the queen, knows no more than it pleases the king her husband to tell her. Nevertheless, it is known, that the said prince continues his accustomed extravagance of conduct. For example, a short time ago he sat, holding in his mouth one of his rings, set with a table diamond, and without reflection he presently swallowed the ring like a pill ; a fact, which after much search, was finally ascertained by his attendants. He is always committing such tricks. It was rumoured here that the king his father, paid the said prince a visit one morning. I have since ascertained that the king did not go beyond the chamber of the prince of Eboli, from which, however, he could see clearly the said prince by means of a screen of lattice-work which divides the apartment. The prince is well in health, though his complexion has become yellow. He is greatly indisposed mentally ; and inconsolable at his prison—nor can he refrain from committing follies, and speaking evil of the king his father, which things alone prove his downright madness. It is said that if the king departs for Flanders, the prince will be confined in the fort of Arcos, as his grandmother Doña Juana was before him, for a similar cause.

The natural repugnance and diversity of disposition, and temper between the king and his son ; also, their wills and inclinations, being so diverse, one must by miracle become quite different to what he is, before it can be hoped that the son may quit his prison during his father's lifetime." ¹ A request that Don Carlos made, to be provided with a copy of the laws and statutes of the realm was complied with ; and for many weeks after his imprisonment, his intervals of comparative composure were spent in poring over these records ; it might be with a view to defend himself against his accusers—although it is nowhere stated that the prince was informed of the process then pending against him. It was, likewise, rumoured that the prince was about to be removed to the castle of Segovia, or the fortress of Simancas. Don Carlos, during his rigorous confinement, seems to have been treated with respect and indulgence. Every wish expressed by him, consistent with his safe keeping, was at once complied with ; while his most insane caprices were tolerated, even to the serious discomfort of his gaolers. To such an extent was this indulgence carried, that many, bearing in mind the unforgiving disposition of the king, have since attributed it to the diabolical intent of urging the unfortunate prisoner, by compliance with his most reckless requests, himself to destroy the life, which as yet some feelings of nature, and remorse, forbad his father to wrest from him.

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaux*, p. 1273. Supp. Fr. 225, MS. Bib. Imp.—Ined.

During the following month of April, Philip quitted Madrid to pass his usual period of retirement at the close of Lent at El Escorial. The queen and the infantas remained at Madrid, under the same roof with Don Carlos;¹ a fact which serves as another proof to destroy the romantic story of the mutual attachment existing between the queen and her stepson. Had any suspicion of the kind been harboured by the king, it is scarcely probable that he would thus have taken his departure. Elizabeth passed a melancholy Lent: for Doña Juana was even more intent than formerly on the performance of her monastic austerities; and lived almost entirely secluded in her convent palace of Las Decalzas. The greater part of the queen's time was spent with the little infantas, who were her only solace during the absence of the king. Frequently Elizabeth's spirits were depressed beyond measure; and the French ambassador states that sometimes she spent a day in tears, without having any adequate cause for sorrow. She suffered also from frequent faintings; likewise, occasionally, from a partial return of numbness down the left side. On Easter Sunday, Elizabeth attended high-mass in the church of Nuestra Señora de Atocha, accompanied by the duchess of Alba, and Doña Ana Fasardo. As for the prince, Don Carlos, a new and unwonted spirit of gentleness and submission beamed over him after the departure of his father. He became docile,

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaux*, p. 1310-1328, Suppl. Fr. 18 Mai.—
ined.

and attentive to the exhortations of his confessor, Fray Diego de Chaves. During Passion Week, he humbled himself by abstinence and prayer; and after making confession of his sins, he received priestly absolution not less than four times. He then earnestly requested to be allowed to partake of the Holy Eucharist. A courier was despatched to El Escorial to impart this desire to the king, and to request his assent to his son's desires. Philip recommended delay and caution, "for many reasons," before admitting his son to the full privilege of communion. When this response was made known to the prince, he commenced to weep bitterly, and "to mourn with many plaints." Fray Diego compassionating this distress, at length told the prince, that he could not receive the communion because the necessary ornaments, vessels and priestly robes were not provided for the temporary chapel fitted up for his highness. "Heed not such trivial matters;" replied Don Carlos, "it will suffice if you treat me as any private person to whom you might be called to minister!" It was, at length, resolved to comply with the earnest desire expressed by the royal penitent. A temporary altar was reared in the apartment adjacent to the chamber of the prince. On Tuesday, in Easter-week, high mass was performed by Fray Diego, in the presence of Don Carlos, the prince of Eboli, Don Juan Borgia, and Don Gonzalez Chacon. After obtaining the assent of Eboli, Fray Diego prayed the prince to kneel at the altar, which had been erected in the adjacent saloon, and there to receive the

sacramental wafer. "No, Padre mio," rejoined Don Carlos, "I quit not this chamber without the express sanction of the king my father:" adding, that the confessor might, if he wished, give him the wafer through the screen of open wood-work, which separated the apartments. The rite was, therefore, thus performed; the prince kneeling in his own chamber at the screen.

De Fourquevaulx states that Don Juan Borgia assisted Chaves in the celebration of the mass. "After this act," continues the ambassador, "the prince was gentle and tractable; and very joyous was the news of this alteration to those who desire the prince's freedom; they deducing, therefrom, that the said prince has not the defective intellect, and want of common discretion which the king his father and others assert; for, they say, if he were of unsound reason and incompetent, the holy sacrament would not have been administered; therefore, they hope that this detention is intended only as a wholesome chastisement." The ambassador then states, that he had been informed by persons most thoroughly initiated in the secret of the arrest, that the prince had been gravely admonished by his confessor, and other theologians, that it was requisite for him to communicate, "to remove the impression on the minds of some persons, principally of the reformed party, who publish everywhere that the said prince appertains to their sect; which is false, as he, on the contrary, bears them mortal hatred. These said theologians, moreover,

gave it as their opinion that persons of defective understanding, who have lucid intervals, and a temporary return of judgment, may lawfully then partake of the Eucharist. On such principle has it been administered to the prince ; for, in truth, there remains not the slightest hope that he ever will become wise, or worthy to succeed to these realms, as his capacity becomes day by day more defective ; and, consequently, it cannot be expected that he will be set at liberty.”¹

The king returned to Madrid on the 27th of April. He remained ten days in the capital, during which he held several important state councils, respecting the imprisonment of his son, the affairs of Flanders, and the relations of his government with England. So indignant was Philip at the covert aid afforded by queen Elizabeth to his subjects of Flanders, that he decided upon recalling his ambassador from London. The privilege of freedom of worship was withdrawn from the English ambassador in Madrid ; and all his household were compelled to attend mass publicly ; or in default to submit to the awards of the tribunal of the Holy Office.² Philip likewise, signified his royal pleasure that the infanta Doña Isabel, should be weaned ; and that her highness's household might be augmented.

Elizabeth's spirits revived after the return of the king to Madrid ; for the rigid etiquette of the Spanish court admitted of no familiarity with the ladies of her

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaux*, p. 1310 à 1328. Suppl. Fr. MS. Bibl. Fr. 18 May, 1568.—Ined.

² *Ibid*, p. 1328 à 1333, 8 Mai, 1568.—Ined.

household. The queen, nevertheless, seems to have made exception in favour of two personages, Doña Ana Fasardo, and Doña Elvira de Carrillo, governess of the infantas. As for the duchess of Alba, her *camaréra-mayor*, Elizabeth appears to have found little congeniality in her society. The queen always hailed with delight the visit of any of her countrymen to the court of Spain. Her wishes on the subject seem to have been particularly consulted by Catherine de Medici; who invariably directed her ambassador, when she had occasion to despatch a special envoy to the Spanish court, to ascertain from the queen the personage who would be most welcome to her in that capacity. Philip quitted Madrid about the 7th of the following month of May, and proceeded to Aranjuez, spending four days at El Escorial, on his road. On the 18th, he was joined by the queen, whose departure from Madrid had been delayed by the indisposition of the infanta Isabel. The two little princesses were left behind in the palace of Madrid, to the great grief of their royal mother—for the physicians declared, that the infantas being delicate in health, the journey would be injurious, on account of the great heat. Philip had peremptorily insisted on the society of the queen during his sojourn at Aranjuez; the new buildings appertaining to the palace, had made great progress—also the gardens; all which he desired to show to his consort. A day or two after her arrival at Aranjuez, Elizabeth

sent to the French ambassador to excuse herself from writing to her brother king Charles, as she had promised, by a courier about to be despatched to France. "The queen sent me a letter to forward to the queen her mother, and prayed me to excuse her to the king for not writing to his majesty also; but that she having recently arrived at Aranjuez, the Catholic king her husband, had been so busied in showing her his new gardens, and delectable buildings, that she had not yet been able to command a moment of leisure," writes de Fourquevaulx.¹ The sojourn at beautiful Aranjuez, however, did not give Elizabeth content for long; the restlessness of disease was upon her; and she pined for her children, and exaggerated the delicate condition of their health. She accordingly made such urgent prayers to the king, that he would forthwith return with her to Madrid, that Philip promised compliance. "Her majesty cannot live without seeing daily Mesdames les Infantes,"² wrote the French ambassador. On the 1st day of June, therefore, Elizabeth quitted Aranjuez, and arrived in Madrid on the 3rd. She was followed by the king, whose anxiety was great at the failing condition of her health; so much so, that he entered into correspondence on the subject with Catherine de Medici, promising that the queen-

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaulx*, p. 1334 à 1336, 21 Mai, 1568. MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. Fr., 225, etc.—Ined.

² *Ibid*, p. 1344, 24 May, 1568.—Ined.

mother's suggestions and wishes, relative to her daughter, should be scrupulously followed. "Your last letter to your daughter, madame, which she received on her return to Madrid, has done her more good than I can express ; it has restored her, so to say, from death to life, announcing as it did, your own restoration, and complete convalescence, which comprehends that of her majesty also." ¹

¹ *Négociations de Fourquevaulx*, p. 1351. 3 Juin, 1568.—Ined.

CHAPTER VI.

The Process of Don Carlos—Report of the commissioners—The Prince falls ill of fever—His excitement—Precarious condition of the queen's health—She refuses the aid of French physicians—The duque de Ferias espouses the defence of Don Carlos—Continued illness of the prince—He refuses food—Decease of Don Carlos—Details of his death—Relation of the Prince of Orange—Of Don Antonio Perez—Statement made by Llorente—Funeral obsequies of the Prince—Interview between the queen and de Fourquevaulx—Alava obtains audience of the king and queen mother of France—Illness of the queen—She departs with the king for El Pardo—Return of the royal pair to Madrid—Correspondence of Catherine de Medici with Philip—Increase of the queen's illness—Particulars—Her dying hours—Relation of Antonio Perez—Funeral obsequies of Elizabeth de Valois—Grief of the king—Philip retires to San Geronimo—News of the decease of the queen of Spain reaches France—Grief of the sovereigns of France—Philip grants audience to de Lignerolles—Mission of the cardinal de Guise—Religious Foundations of the queen of Spain—Her device and motto.

DON CARLOS, meanwhile, during the absence of the king and queen, remained in the palace of Madrid, under the guardianship of the prince of Eboli, and of the duke de Feria, captain of the royal body-guard. No further military force in the capital was considered needful by the king: and this circumstance—that Philip during his own absence at Aranjuez fearlessly confided his captive son, to the sole guardianship of

Feria and the officers of his body-guard, who, most of them, were members of the noblest houses in his realm—goes far to prove¹ that his treatment of the prince was not disapproved by the grandees, or by the inhabitants of Madrid generally. The Venetian Badoero, in his amusing relation of events, which occurred at the court of Spain during his mission as ambassador, portrays the character of the prince of Eboli, to whose sole custody the prince had been committed, with much point and apparent fidelity. He says, “Ruy Gomez possesses so noble a disposition, that I believe nature has been so liberal to few. He has no taste, however, for science; he speaks only Spanish, but understands Italian. He is in all his deportment pleasing cordial, and courteous; he is endowed with many natural gifts, which create goodwill and respect towards the man who possesses them. In experience of state affairs he is deficient; but his want of knowledge is supplied by firmness of purpose, and great ability.” Of the duke de Feria, Badoero reports: “Feria is kind, discreet, a bosom friend of Ruy Gomez; but he possesses not much influence, or knowledge of affairs.” Many rumours prevailed in Madrid relative to the future destination of Don Carlos. The castle of Medina del Campo, or the strong fortress of Arrevalos, which the king had recently caused to be repaired, were assigned as the places likely to be selected for the permanent incarceration of su Alteza. After the return of the king to Madrid, the

¹ MS. Bibl. Imp. Colbert, 5486.

report of the commissioners empowered to conduct the process of the unhappy prince was laid before Philip, in the presence of the council of state. Llorente states, that the report of the process was not complete, until the 9th day of July, when a summary judgment was given, the prince being declared guilty of high treason on two points: namely, "for having tried to compass the assassination of the king his father; and for having conspired to usurp the sovereignty of Flanders." It is, moreover, denied by Llorente, that the Inquisition preferred any charge against the prince, or that that tribunal had any share in his arraignment, or imprisonment—an avowal which corresponds with the statements made by the French ambassador, and other influential persons. The assertion, however, that the prince was found guilty of having absolutely compassed his father's death, can at once be proclaimed as apocryphal on the testimony of Philip himself, by word of mouth; and by the letters the king wrote to foreign courts on his son's arrest. The prince of Eboli, moreover, by command of his royal master, had contradicted that rumour to each of the foreign ambassadors then resident in Madrid. The remaining portion, therefore, of Llorente's testimony must, also, be deemed liable to the same prejudice and error, when he goes on to declare that the counsellor Muñatones in his report, stated, that the penalty imposed by the law on every other subject guilty of like misdemeanour, was death; but that his majesty might decide that the heir-

apparent was placed by his rank, above the reach of ordinary laws. It was, moreover, in his majesty's power to dispense with any penalty whatever, for the good of his subjects. Ruy Gomez and Espinosa, declared their concurrence in this sentence. "The king replied," writes Llorente, "that though his feelings moved him to follow the suggestions of his ministers, his conscience would not permit it. He could not think that he should consult the future good of his people, by placing over them a monarch so vicious in his disposition, and so fierce and sanguine in his temper as Don Carlos. However agonizing it might be to his feelings as a father, he must allow the law to take its course. Yet after all, it might not be necessary to proceed to such an extremity. The prince's health was critical ; let the precautions, therefore, be relaxed with regard to his diet, and his excesses would soon conduct him to the tomb. The essential point was, that he should be well advised of his situation, and be willing to confess and make his peace with Heaven before he died. This was the greatest proof of love which he could give to his son, and to the Spanish nation."¹ It is remarkable, that a knowledge of this speech, and decision should have been possessed only by Llorente, who lived more than a century afterwards ; and who forgets to state his authority.²

¹ Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, t. 3, page 171 et seq.

² Llorente cursorily says, "I drew these details from certain secret memoirs of the times, full of curious anecdote ; which, though they do not pretend to precise authenticity, are nevertheless entitled to credit, as proceeding from persons employed in the palace of the king."

De Fourquevaulx, in his despatches makes no such statement ; and if any one had opportunity for proving the truth of the matter, it was certainly Catherine's ambassador, who had the privilege of daily access to the queen's presence, and with whom Eboli frequently conferred privately, by command of his royal master. Nor is the statement true, which has been made a great point of, to Philip's disadvantage in discussing these events, that the despatches of the ambassador de Fourquevaulx, wherein mention is made of the death of the prince and its previous events, have been suppressed or withdrawn from the French archives. The despatch exists which was written by the ambassador to king Charles on the 25th day of July, the day following the demise of Don Carlos : also, there are several previous despatches—the last, written before the death of the prince, and dated the 21st day of July—but which were not suffered to be sent from Madrid until the crisis of the malady of the prince was decisive either of his decease, or recovery. It is distinctly stated by de Fourquevaulx in a despatch to Charles IX., that Philip on the 25th of June, departed from El Escorial—where he went to sojourn a few days after his return with Elizabeth to the capital—to Valsain, “ in which place it is reported, that the court will spend the month of July ; the king, therefore, goes thither to order preparation to be made ; and also for the prince his son, whom his majesty intends to confine in the castle of Segovia.”¹

¹ Dépêche de Fourquevaulx.—MS. Bibl. Imp., au roy, p. 1366. De Madrid, ce 25 jour de Juin, 1568.—Ined.

Another *on dit* on the process of the prince was deemed of sufficient importance by the ambassador to be transmitted instantly to Paris. "Sire, it is said that the prince will eventually be set at liberty on condition that he espouses the Princess his aunt, to satisfy the scrupulous conscience of those who have taken oath to him as heir of these realms. The king knows well, that the prince will never have posterity; and the said Princess will make allowances for, and remedy his many deficiencies of mind, better than any other wife who could be chosen for him."¹

The prince, meantime, soon after Easter, the period when he made his confession so devoutly, fell ill of one of his accustomed attacks of low fever. His illness lasted its usual period, during which he was attended by his first physician, Olivarez. The most violent excitement of mind followed this indisposition. The irritable temperament of the prince, aggravated by the closeness of his confinement, and the mental suspense under which he suffered, betrayed him into acts of frantic fury. The consequent exhaustion which followed these ebullitions, acting on a frame weakened by fever, was attended by deplorable results. Often, with lips white and quivering with fury, yet unable longer to utter maledictions against his "oppressors," the miserable prince sank exhausted on his

¹ Dépêche de Fourquevaux, MS. Bib. Imp., au roy, page 1336. De Madrid, ce 21 de Mai, 1568.—Ined.

couch. "The prince eats little, and sleeps hardly at all," writes de Fourquevaulx.¹ "He becomes visibly thinner and more dried up; and his eyes are sunk in his head. They feed him with strong soups and capon broth, in which amber, and other nourishing things are dissolved, that he may not quite part with his strength and fall into decrepitude. These soups are prepared privately in the apartments of Ruy Gomez, through which one passes into that of the prince; the prince is still never suffered to go out; nor even to look out of the window." Often the prince declined food, crouching dejectedly in his chamber, and saying, "that he wished to die then, in the flower of his youth."² Don Carlos carried this abstinence to such an extent in the month of June, that he fasted three or four days together, drinking during this interval, only an immoderate quantity of snow-water. Then, with a system thus debilitated, he made clamorous demands for food, and ate with voracity, every viand set before him. The nuncio and the Tuscan ambassador both state, that sometimes he would thus devour at a time, a pasty made of four partridges, eating all the paste, and drinking three gallons of iced water.³ "He fasts, madame, for three or four days, and then eats so much, that

¹ *Dépêche de Fourquevaulx*, p. 1136. De Madrid ce 21 de May, 1568. —Ined.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Lettera de Nobili*, Luglio 30, 1568, quoted by Prescott, *History of Philip II.*

he does not know how to contain himself,"¹ wrote de Fourquevaulx to queen Catherine.

Incessant vomitings and faintness were the result of such irregularity of diet. When revived from the effects of his abstinence or of his ravenous meals, Don Carlos rose, with execrations on his lips, and the fire of fever burning in his veins, and threw himself, panting for air, against the iron bars of his prison window, entwining his emaciated arms so firmly round them, that none could draw him thence. In this attitude, he frequently remained for hours during the night, his chest and shoulders bare; for the heat of the weather was then intense. At other times, he would throw himself naked on the floor of his apartment, and lie, making most piteous complaints and sobs. If any of his attendants, however, spoke, or roused him from the dreamy slumbers which often then ensued, the prince sprang from the ground, uttering such fierce threats, as daunted the sympathy of the most compassionate.

The young queen, meantime, remained under the same roof with her unhappy step-son; but she was not permitted to visit him. Indeed, the condition of Elizabeth's health began to excite apprehensions. The atmosphere of Madrid having been deemed injurious to her constitution, the king had decided that the queen and the infantas should depart for Valsain and Aranjuez as soon as these palaces could

¹ Fourquevaulx à la royne.—MS., Bibl. Imp. p. 1400. De Madrid, le 26 de Juillet, 1568.—Ined.

be prepared. Elizabeth suffered from vertigo and faintness in the most distressing degree ; sometimes her swoon would last two hours, and she rose so debilitated as to be compelled to keep her chamber for the next two days. Gutierrez, her principal physician, had recently died ; a circumstance which occasioned their Catholic majesties much solicitude. Catherine de Medici again most earnestly besought her daughter to accept the services of one of her countrymen, who were more advanced in medical knowledge than the Spaniards. Elizabeth declined the proposal with great steadiness, although her husband the king, had given her full permission to act as she pleased. She replied, "That in Spain there ought to be no lack of competent physicians ; and that she had accepted the services of a very skilful man, one doctor Maldonado, who had been recommended highly by the duchess of Alba, he being a native of the town of Alba." Elizabeth ever bravely and conscientiously, performed her duty as queen of Spain and Philip's wife, without allowing her ease, her personal preferences, or her love for her fatherland to interfere with the requirements of her position. A firm and resolute disposition lay hidden beneath the kindly courtesy of Elizabeth's demeanour ; and had her life been prolonged, she doubtless would have exhibited those qualities, and that aptitude for government, which distinguished her mother, and so

¹ Fourquevaulx, p. 1396, à la royne, de Madrid, ce 21 de Juillet, 1568.
—Ined.

many of the descendants of Louise de Savoye. Meanwhile, the duke de Frias, high constable of Castile, and his kindred alone of all the nobles showed open sympathy in the fate of the prince Don Carlos. The constable observed that "he, as first of the grandees who swore allegiance to Don Carlos at Toledo, as heir of the Spains, ought to have been consulted as to his Highness' arrest. "But," says de Fourquevaux, "his majesty troubles himself very little about such observations. The king, Sire, in his wisdom has brought it to this, that no man in his kingdom ventures to comment on his conduct, or to oppose his orders. Every person obeys him willingly or unwillingly; so that his subjects, if they do not love him, at least they wear that semblance."¹ The alarming account sent to him by Eboli, relative to the condition of the prince his son, rather than regard for the discontent of the house of Velasco, seems to have brought king Philip from Valsain, early in the month of July. To allay the fever consuming his strength, Don Carlos had immoderate recourse to ice and snow; and repeatedly caused pans full of the former to be introduced into his bed, allowing it to remain until melted, when it was renewed.² He drank incautiously of iced beverages; and ate all manner of fruit. At the time the king returned, Don Carlos had obstinately refused to partake of solid food. He continued to decline meat or other

¹ Dépêche de Fourquevaux au roy, 13 avril, 1568.—MS. Bibl. Imp.

² Ibid. Lettera del Nunzio. Cabrera, Felipe II.

substantial viands for the space of seven or eight days, eating only raw plums, which he devoured in vast quantities at a time, and afterwards drank copious draughts of iced water.¹ During this interval, the prince slept on the floor, which he frequently inundated with water, wading about for hours with bare feet, and clad only in a light taffeta dress.² Towards the end of this period of eight days, the weakness of the prince was of course excessive ; and then only did any person venture to coerce his desperate will. Dysentery, however, soon set in, in its most aggravated form. The prince was afflicted with incessant vomiting, his stomach refusing the slightest nourishment ; the medicines administered by Olivarez being rejected. The physicians of the court, both Spanish and French, were summoned, but held their consultation in the apartment of Ruy Gomez, none but Olivarez being permitted to see the patient. When convinced of the desperate nature of his son's malady, Philip issued commands to stop all couriers leaving the capital, until the fate of the prince was decided. Elizabeth, who always tried to palliate every arbitrary act on the part of the Spanish government towards that of France, wrote to de Fourquevaux, and requested as a personal favour, that the ambassador would not despatch a courier

¹ Dépêche de Fourquevaux à la royne, 1400, de Madrid le 26 Juillet, 1568.—Ined.

² Ibid. Lettera del Nunzio. Récit d'Adam de Diestrishstein, ambassadeur de l'Empereur, sur la mort du Prince Don Carlos. Gestes des seigneurs de Diestrishstein.

for France until she had sent him two letters; but being greatly afflicted with sick headache, she could not state precisely when the said letters might reach him. "I shall obey this order of her Catholic majesty, as your majesty will have perceived by the delay," wrote the ambassador to Catherine,¹ "but I understand well that it proceeds from the king her husband, who does not desire that the news should spread of the extremity of the prince his son, who is now dying. He cannot survive three days, so that I see clearly that this despatch will not depart as soon as I had hoped." "The prince, is not far from death,"² added de Fourquevaulx on the evening of the same day, in a despatch to Charles IX. Throughout these documents, there is not the least insinuation that the prince had been reduced by unfair means to this condition; on the contrary, de Fourquevaulx seems to regard the details of the malady of Don Carlos, which he writes to their Christian majesties, as causes and reasons enough to account for the decease of the most robust person living. As for the queen—Philip, he states, treated her with the most exemplary and affectionate indulgence, living only when in her sight, and showing the utmost despair at her failing health, which, however, it consoled his majesty greatly to

¹ Dêpêche de Fourquevaulx à la royne, 1392, de Madrid, ce 21 de Juillet, 1568.—1ned.

² *Ibid.* p. 1392.

consider was only caused by her pregnant condition. Philip, however, refused when warmly solicited by Elizabeth, to permit her to injure her health, or to disturb the dying prince by a visit to his chamber.

On the 22nd day of July, the festival of St. Mary Magdalene, it is stated, that the prince became aware that his death was at hand. He manifested no disquietude or regret, when the fact was confirmed by Olivarez. As his bodily strength declined, his mind recovered its composure. He became gentle in his language, and besought very earnestly that his confessor Chaves, and Suarez his almoner, might be admitted to confer with him. The prince made his confession with great signs of penitence and contrition ; but the nature of his malady permitted him not to receive the Holy Eucharist, as he could swallow nothing. He declared that he forgave his enemies, as he trusted to obtain mercy from the Almighty—naming the king his father, the prince of Eboli, Espinosa, Velasco archbishop of Seville, and all others who had counselled his father to arrest him.¹ He then asked when the feast of St. Iago would happen. Upon being told that it fell on the 24th of July, three days forwards, Don Carlos exclaimed “ Ah ! so long I predict will my misery endure ! ”²

¹ Lettera del Nunzio, Luglio 28, 1568. Prescott, *Hist. of Philip II.* Fourquevaux, *Dépêches*.

² *Ibid.* Gestes des seigneurs de Diestrichstein. Récit dressé par Adam de Diestrichstein, ambassadeur de l'empereur, sur la mort de Don Carlos.

“A wonderful change,” says the Nuncio,¹ “seemed to be wrought by Divine grace in the heart of the prince. Instead of vain and empty talk, his language became that of a sensible man. He sent for his confessor, devoutly confessed, and as his illness was such that he could not receive the Host, he humbly adored it, showing throughout great contrition; and though refusing not the proffered remedies, he manifested such contempt for the things of this world, and such a longing for Heaven, that one would have said that God reserved for this hour the sum of his grace.” The prince expressed a wish to have a parting interview with the king his father before his decease. The bishop of Cuença, however, persuaded the king that it would be a cruelty to disturb the serene and happy frame of mind in which the prince had fallen. On the 23rd, a few hours before Don Carlos expired, the king softly entered the chamber behind the prince of Eboli and Don Antonio de Toledo. Gazing for a few seconds on the insensible form of his “only and first-born son,” Philip made the sign of the cross, and extending his arms, he solemnly forgave him his misdeeds, and pronounced his paternal benediction. He then retired displaying much emotion.²

The utmost agitation prevailed in the palace and throughout Madrid, when the condition of the prince

¹ Lettera del Nunzio—Prescott, *Hist. of Philip II.*, p. 434. *Récit d'Adam de Diestrichstein, ambassadeur de l'Empereur.*

² Cabrera. *Hist. de Felipe II.*, lib. VIII., cap. 5.

became known. The queen and Doña Juana were deeply afflicted; and the people waited the result in mournful silence. Philip evidently dreaded some tumultuous manifestation of sorrow, for it is stated by Cabrera—who, however, erroneously records, that the king never quitted Madrid after the arrest of his son—that when he heard the sounds of tumult in the streets, he would approach a window of the palace to see whether the noise was caused by any demonstration of the partisans of the prince to procure his release. During the whole of the 23rd day of July, the prince lay insensible, his life swiftly ebbing away. About midnight he recovered consciousness, and on being told that it was then the vigil of St. Iago, the most vivid joy, it is stated, illumined his face, and he asked for a consecrated taper, and that prayers for the departing should be recited. The prince joined devoutly in these orisons, smiting his breast, and calling upon God to forgive him his sins. A calm then ensued, the prince sinking into a stupor, during which he breathed his last, between the hours of midnight and one in the morning of the 24th, in repose so unruffled that the exact moment of his departure was not ascertained. “Sire,” wrote de Fourquevaulx to his royal master,¹ “not having yet received any letters from the queen your sister, nor yet being able to obtain horses to despatch any

¹ *Dépêches de Fourquevaulx au roy*, p. 1398. De Madrid, le 26 Juillet, 1568.—Ined. MS.

courier, I have been obliged to wait the issue of the illness of the prince, before sending these despatches. He died yesterday at one o'clock in the morning, having made a very Christian and Catholic end, which all the Spaniards laud greatly. The general opinion seems to be that this death has relieved the king from very grave care; so that his majesty will now be enabled to leave his kingdom without fear of seditions during his absence." "Never did Christian prince, make a more Catholic end!" exclaims the Tuscan Nobili.

Such is the testimony given of the arrest, and decease of Don Carlos by Fourquevaulx, the nuncio Castaneo, Nobili the Tuscan envoy, Diestrichstein the Imperial ambassador, and by all Spanish historians of any consideration and credit. The united testimony of all these personages, who were on the spot, and personally conferred with Philip and his ministers on the subject shows, that the death of the prince was caused by natural maladies, aggravated by the irritation and disgrace of his imprisonment, and the measures pending relative to his process. The occasion of the arrest of Don Carlos, in the opinion of these personages, was his insanity which led him to sanction projects detrimental to the monarchy; he displaying in other respects a palpable unfitness to wield the sceptre of Charles V. The result sought to be obtained by the process before the council of state, was to attain thereby the judicial degradation of the prince from his hereditary rights, so as to render the succession

eligible eventually to the infanta Doña Isabel; or to any son which might hereafter be born to the king. It was proposed, therefore, to condemn the unhappy Don Carlos to perpetual prison; the monastery at Tordesillas, inhabited by his grandmother Juana, during the worst interval of her mental malady, and the castles of Medina, Simancas, Segovia, and Arevalos, being all indicated at various periods as the scene of the prince's future abode. Nevertheless, rumours most injurious to the fame of the king, respecting his treatment of his son, spread over Europe. The death of the prince while a prisoner, became a fatal stain on the history of Philip's reign; and avenged his unfortunate son for any harshness or severity on his father's part, which might have driven him to rebel. The first rumour of the alleged violent decease of the prince, in consequence of the judicial decree of the council of state arose in Italy. Alava communicated the report to the Spanish cabinet. "From Italy (it is said from Rome), there has been written and sent here a letter full of the most atrocious assertions relative to the decease of the late prince our lord. Here, however, the facts of his illness, and death are perfectly known and understood; so that nothing has resulted but laughter at the palpable malignity of the said letters."¹ Two personages alone of the sixteenth century, state boldly in print, *on their own authority*, that the prince was poisoned

¹ MS. Archives de Simancas, K. 1394, A. B., 22, No. 129. Carta de Don. F. de Alava al Rey, Paris, 30 Septembre, 1568.—Ined.

in his prison; their relation being subsequently copied by various authors of the same century. These individuals were Antonio Perez, and the Prince of Orange in his celebrated Apology, or rather manifesto against the Spanish proscriptions in the Netherlands. These, Philip's accusers, it is necessary to observe, had never perused the secret despatches of the ministers from Paris, Rome, Florence, and Vienna; each of these ambassadors representing a member of Philip's family at Madrid, and occupying a confidential position at his court. It is, moreover, to be remarked that Perez and the Prince of Orange assert that Elizabeth met her death by the same ruthless barbarity; a statement which can be disproved over and over again, on most incontrovertible evidence. Thus, if one declaration made by these personages is to be accepted, the other must necessarily be so also, as their opportunities of judging of both events were precisely parallel—namely, rumour; and the suspicion engendered by the mystery observed respecting the arrest of the prince, and the known implacability of Philip's resentments. The Prince of Orange says—writing from the Low Countries, he never having visited Madrid during the events which he narrates.—“It was not a single murder which the king perpetrated for the sake of this extraordinary marriage.¹ His son too, his only son was sacrificed

¹ Philip's subsequent union, after the death of Elizabeth with Anne, daughter of Maximilian II., a princess whose betrothal with Don Carlos had caused such perplexing negotiations. The archduchess was the niece of Philip II., being the daughter of his elder sister Maria.

in order to furnish the pope with a pretext for so unusual a dispensation, which was granted in order to prevent the Spanish monarchy from being left without a male heir. This was the true cause of the death of Don Carlos against whom some misdemeanour was alleged ; but not a single crime sufficient to justify his condemnation, much less to vindicate a father for imbruing his hands in the blood of his son. And if Don Carlos was in reality guilty of crimes deserving death, ought not an appeal to have been made to us his future subjects ? Did the right of judging, and pronouncing death against the heir of such vast dominions belong to Spanish friars and inquisitors, the slaves of the father's tyranny !"¹

The supreme absurdity of the motives assigned by Orange for this act of Philip's at once indicates that the manifesto was launched for party purposes alone ; and that its accusations were purely malevolent, inasmuch as the writer made his charge unauthorized alike by private knowledge of events, or by the current version of the mysterious transaction. The statement, however, which made the deepest impression on the public mind was that of Perez. After a long series of persecutions, torture, and severe imprisonments, the latter had contrived to escape from Spain, though not from the vengeance of his master ; who accused his former secretary of perfidy, betrayal of state secrets, and various other crimes, of some of which history has partly vindicated Perez, to affix the stain on

¹ Mémoires sur la Hollande, Aubrey de Maunier, p. 104.

Philip himself.¹ While living a refugee in Paris on the bounty of Henry IV, Perez made his celebrated statement respecting the premature decease of Don Carlos, and his young step-mother queen Elizabeth. Actuated by intense hatred of Philip, Perez recorded the most damning accusations, in the belief that his statements would ever remain uncontradicted ; for in the sixteenth century, the public disclosure of despatches written by foreign ministers resident at any European court would have been considered an event utterly improbable and preposterous. Perez writes, " The discontent and lamentation of the prince was so great during his imprisonment, that Ruy Gomez and others ceased not to supplicate the king to end this affair ; and if the said prince were innocent to restore him to liberty ; and if guilty to resort to all necessary remedy : but above all not to let him languish longer in captivity. They feared that the prince should escape from their hands, as he was extremely cunning and eventually avenge himself upon them ; or that during his prison the king might die, and thus the said prince becoming sovereign, should hold them responsible for the injurious treatment he had endured. Finally, the king not knowing how to rid himself of this importunity ; and considering that the prince was truly guilty, and that his liberty would be perilous to the state, and to himself personally, decided

¹ See Mignet's " Antonio Perez and Philip II." for a recital of these events. To the Spanish scholar, the " Documentos Ineditos" afford a perusal of the original documents of this case.

with the help of his casuists and inquisitors that lawfully the life of the said prince might be forfeited. The prince was condemned, therefore, with, and by the assent of the council. In order not to perpetrate their resolve in too open a manner, it was ordained that during the space of four months, a slow pioson should be mingled with his food ; so that gradually the said prince might lose strength and life without any apparent violence being committed. Therefore, so it was executed.”¹ Llorente, a subsequent writer and secretary to the Holy Office, diligently searched the records of that tribunal, to which he had free access, to find the documents connected with the alleged arraignment of Don Carlos by the Inquisition. He found no such papers : and states that the Inquisition preferred not any charge ; neither did the tribunal share in the condemnation of the prince.

Llorente, however, proceeds himself to give a version of this mysterious affair, which, he says, he culled from secret memoirs of the time, full of curious anecdote ; which though possessing not precisely the character of authenticity, are, nevertheless, entitled to credit, as coming from persons employed in the palace of the king.” After the avowal of such questionable authority, it is impossible to accept Llorente’s relation in opposition to the statements of the ministers of France, Germany, and Rome, who were on the spot, and spectators of the events which they minutely chronicled day by day

¹ Récit d’Antoine Perez à M. de Vair.—MS. Bibl. Imp.

for their respective sovereigns. When the king had decided on the death of his son, Llorente relates, that he confided his design to Ruy Gomez, who in his turn communicated it to Olivarez, the first physician of the prince. Olivarez instantly comprehended what was required of him, and made no scruple in complying with the royal desire. On the 20th of July, therefore, a medicinal dose was administered to the prince, who from thenceforth gradually declined, until death released him.¹

The historian, de Thou, quotes the authority of the learned Venetian Giustiniani, formerly ambassador at the court of Henry VIII. of England, and who was at the period of the decease of Don Carlos, travelling for his health in Spain. Giustiniani merely gives the reflex of the rumours complained of by Alava, "that Philip obtained a judicial sentence against his son; but wishing to spare the honour of the blood royal, he caused a poisoned broth to be administered to the prince."² Strada, Bentivoglio, with countless other historians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, treat upon this subject; though not having had access to documents of state, and especially the letters of the ambassadors resident at the period in Madrid, upon which to collate and establish their depositions, their versions can only be regarded as so many variations of the

¹ Hist. de l'Inquisition, t. III., p. 171.

² Du Thou, Hist. de Notre Temps, t. v.

statements of Perez, Orange, and others respecting this transaction.

The remains of Don Carlos, meanwhile, were embalmed and shrouded in the habit of the Franciscan Order, on the day of his decease, July 24th. A coffin covered with black velvet, having by way of ornament, a scarlet cross on the lid, was provided for their reception. All the ambassadors of foreign powers resident in Madrid, were permitted to view the body before the coffin was closed. "Sire," writes de Fourquevaulx, "I saw the face of the prince before his body was deposited in the convent of the Dominican Nuns. His features were not at all altered by his malady; excepting that his face was of a yellow hue. I understand, however, that his person is so wasted, that nothing remains of him but bones."¹ At seven o'clock in the evening, the mournful procession quitted the Alcazar, and wended its way through the streets to the convent of San Domingo el Real. The pall of rich brocade was supported by the dukes de Infantado, and Medina de Rioseco, the prince of Eboli, and the duke de Feria. The archdukes Rodolph and Matthias, performed the office of chief mourners, and marched after the bier

¹ Dépêches de Fourquevaulx.—MS. Bibl. Imp., p. 1398, de Madrid, cc 26ème de Juillet, 1568. The ambassador's words are: "Je lui ai vu le visage quand on dépositoit son corps avec les religieuses de St. Dominique le Real, lequel n'étoit aucunement défait de la maladie, sinon qu'il étoit un peu jaune; mais j'entends qu'il n'avoit que les ossements par le surplus du corps."—Ined.

clad in long mourning habits, wearing hats of black cloth, in Flemish fashion. All the great officers of state, and the ambassadors, cardinal Espinosa president of the council, the nuncio, and the chief clergy of Spain, followed.¹ While the cortège was forming in the court of the palace, some altercation ensued between the grandees, relative to the order of precedence. The disputants, however, were silenced by the presence of Philip himself, who opening a window overlooking the court-yard, from whence he had been watching the formation of the procession, indicated his sovereign will on the point, in a few cold and contemptuous words; "thereby showing," says the historian Cabrera, "the prompt readiness of action for which his majesty was renowned." The funeral services were celebrated with great pomp and solemnity; masses for the dead were said daily during the space of nine days in all the churches of Madrid.

The coffin of the prince was placed in a niche excavated near the high altar of the chapel of San Domingo, where it was to remain until the completion of the royal sepulchre in the Escorial. Prayers for the dead were recited daily for thirty days in the chapel—a ceremony at which the queen and her court were once present. No funeral sermon, however, was permitted; it being the will of the king that the

¹ *Dépêches de Fourquevaux*, MS., Bibl. Imp., p. 1400, de Madrid, 26 Juillet, 1568.—Ined.

oration should be reserved for El Escorial, at the ceremony of the final interment of Don Carlos.

The same evening, de Fourquevaulx proceeded to the palace to visit the queen. He found her very depressed and indisposed; especially as she had just taken leave of the king her husband, who retired for a fortnight to San Geronimo to join in the religious services performed for the soul of his unhappy son. Elizabeth made no comments on the tragedy which had that day been consummated. She requested de Fourquevaulx to entreat queen Catherine in her name, "to act so that all Spain might perceive and believe that it caused their Christian Majesties great sorrow, that the king of Spain had lost his son; as of all European nations, the Spaniards held the most to external manifestations." "True is it madame," wrote de Fourquevaulx, "that the Spanish people look upon me askance, and scruple not to say that we French are very rejoiced at this said decease. Therefore, your majesty will not fail to make every demonstration to the contrary." Elizabeth, moreover, earnestly requested that Catherine would cause a solemn funeral service to be performed at Nôtre Dame de Paris for the Prince; and that it would please their Christian majesties to be present. The young queen did all in her power to demonstrate the deep grief which the demise of the prince occasioned

¹ Lettre de Fourquevaulx à la royne mère.—MS. Bibl. Imp., p, 1405.
—Ined.

her ; so greatly did she shrink from the remark made, that the death of Don Carlos would be of great benefit to herself and her posterity. She also supplicated the queen her mother, to send a personage of high rank to condole with the king her husband. Proclamation was meantime made commanding all loyal subjects of the king to put on deep mourning during the space of nine days ; and to attend at the church of Nuestra Señora* de Atocha, when the public service for the soul of the deceased prince was performed. It was ordained that the court should wear mourning for the space of one year ; unless God in his mercy, gave her Catholic majesty happy delivery of a son ; when, in that case, all vestige of sorrow was to be laid aside.¹ De Fourquevaulx then informs Catherine how well her mourning garments became the queen of Spain, whose features had never looked more lovely and delicate. He states that the queen still continued subject to fainting fits, and numbness of the left side ; but that her physicians had good hope that soon such unpleasant symptoms would pass away.

As soon as the royal prohibition was taken off, forbidding the departure of couriers from the capital, the most active diplomatic correspondence ensued between the foreign ambassadors and their courts. The death of Don Carlos, however, had been formally notified to the sovereigns of Europe by Philip's

¹ Lettre de Fourquevaulx à la royne mère, MS. Bibl. Imp., p. 1405.
—Ined.

ambassadors: for the king was especially careful in matters of importance, to suffer no garbled statements to be made; and always to have the advantage of the first relation of events. In France, Alava, as usual, commenced a series of petty provocations; his aim being to mystify and torment queen Catherine, whom he detested. "M. de Fourquevaulx," wrote Catherine in great indignation, "this Spanish ambassador does all in his power to trouble the good relation subsisting between the two crowns, especially in the matter of the decease of the Prince of Spain. One day the said ambassador told us that he, the prince, was not dead; another time that he had deceased—a fact, he averred, that we knew better than he did, as we had read it in his packets from Spain, which against all law and justice, we had opened and perused. Afterwards, in conversation with the cardinal de Lorraine, this said ambassador remarked, "that he wondered, as we were so well informed respecting the decease of the prince, that we did not put on mourning; and that he himself intended to clothe himself in black on the following day." We accordingly arrayed ourselves in mourning habits; but the ambassador made his appearance in our presence clad in his usual garb, and said, "that he was quite astonished to see us in such guise, as he had had no news from Madrid of the death of the said prince." Such things, M. l'ambassadeur, are not to be tolerated; for it is very evident that it is the intent of this said Don Francisco, to embroil our relations with the Catholic

king. I pray you communicate this circumstance to the queen, my daughter.”¹ Alava, however, received a packet of despatches from the king his master, containing letters which he was charged to deliver to their Christian majesties in person ; with a royal command himself to put on mourning for the deceased prince. “ I have clothed myself and my family in black from head to foot, also the walls of my house, and my equipages, according to the command I received from his majesty,” wrote Alava to Cayès, one of Philip’s under secretaries of state. On the 20th of September, a solemn service was chanted for the repose of the soul of Don Carlos, in the church of Nôtre Dame de Paris, at which Catherine and her younger sons the dukes d’Anjou and d’Alençon, were present ; king Charles being, at the time, indisposed and unable to leave the Louvre.² Funeral honours were likewise rendered to the prince in Rome : although Philip wrote to his ambassador, Zuñiga, desiring him to prevent any homage being paid in the holy city to the memory of his son ; and also to hint to the pope, that his majesty would deem letters of condolence a superfluous compliment. The king’s wishes, nevertheless, were not complied with ; for the service was celebrated with the utmost pomp by the cardinal de Tarragona, assisted by twenty-two cardinals, besides

¹ Lettre de Catherine de Medici à M. de Fourquevaulx.—MS. Bibl. Imp., Suppl. Fr. 225.

² MS. Simancas, K. 1394, A. B. 22, No. 126. Carta de Don F. de Alava al Rey, Paris, 29 Septembre.—Ined.

bishops, and archbishops, in the presence of Zuñiga, and the cardinal de Granvelle. At Vienna, a Requiem was performed in the church of St. Stephen, at which the Imperial family, including the archduchess Anne, participated. It is difficult to allege any reason why Philip should have forbidden funeral honours to his son's memory to be performed in the papal city; when, throughout Europe, the sovereigns his relatives and allies, celebrated such rites by his express request and sanction. Throughout the Low Countries, masses were everywhere said in obedience to the royal mandate transmitted to the duke de Alba, in the following letter, written by Philip two days after his son's decease.

PHILIP II. TO THE DUQUE DE ALBA..

“ Duque Primo.

“ It having pleased Almighty God to take unto himself the Prince my very dear and beloved son, you may comprehend the grief and pain which now overwhelms me. His decease happened on the 24th day of this month, he having three days previously participated with great signs of devotion and repentance in the most holy Sacraments. Afterwards his end was very Christian; he showing such repentance and contrition of heart, as serves to console me greatly under this heavy affliction. I have good hope, therefore, in the mercy of God, that He has called the said prince, in order that he may from henceforth partake of the fulness of joy in His sacred presence; also, that God will give me grace humbly to submit to His divine will, that I may support this sorrowful calamity with Christian patience and resignation, as it becomes me to do.

You will, therefore, publish this sorrowful event ; and command that throughout my sovereignties and territories where you are, that services, requiems, and other customary observances be celebrated. You will also write and specially charge all prelates, monks, and others of the ecclesiastical order, to pray that our God may have mercy on the soul of the said prince ; and to entreat Him to prosper our various affairs, and negotiations that they may all tend to the advancement of His Holy Church. It is our will that you cause such supplications to be added to the usual masses, orisons and prayers appertaining to the due celebration of Divine service—in doing which you will render me agreeable and acceptable service.

“From Madrid this 26th day of July, 1568.”

“Yo EL REY.”¹

All the European powers, meantime, despatched ambassadors to condole with the king and queen of Spain, on the decease of the prince. The young archduke Charles of Austria received tidings of the death of Don Carlos while on his way to Madrid to intercede with Philip on his behalf, in the name of the emperor and empress. After a delay of several months, the archduke continued his journey, and in due time arrived in Madrid. The king of Portugal sent Don Luis de Lencastro, brother of the duke de Aveiro. France accredited the count de Lignerolles ; while the pope forwarded the ex-

¹ MS. Bibl. Imp. Dupuy, vol. 721, p. 103. The king, also, wrote letters to the Marquis de Villafranca, and to the old preceptor of Don Carlos, Don Garcia de Toledo, announcing the prince's demise. These letters, however, are merely a repetition of that addressed to Alba, and contain no new fact. Documentos Ineditos, Marzo 5, 1849.

pression of his sympathy through Castaneo the nuncio. During his seclusion at San Geronimo, Philip had been assailed with a severe attack of gout; instead, therefore, of returning to the palace in Madrid, on the expiration of his period of mourning, the king proceeded to El Escorial, where he remained invisible to all, excepting to the queen, until the 21st of September. Before he departed from Madrid, Philip received de Fourquevaulx privately. In reply to the assurances of their Christian majesties' sorrow at the calamity which had befallen him, Philip replied: "That he could not dissemble, but that the decease of his son had been a sharp and bitter affliction; nevertheless, he had long braced his mind to accept, with humble thankfulness, both the good and the evil which it should please God to assign him."¹ During the king's retreat, all state documents connected with the affairs of France were sent to Elizabeth, who forwarded them to her husband. Philip wrote to her his decision thereon, which the queen communicated to the ambassador.

The most melancholy depression, however, preyed upon the spirits of the young queen; her sufferings from illness were pitiable, greatly augmented as they were by the ignorant treatment which she received from Maldonado, and the Spanish physicians. On the 10th of September, she fainted from excess of pain in her side; and lay for an hour and a half in

¹ Dépêche de Fourquevaulx au roy, p. 1427 et seq., de Madrid, ce 27 d'Aoust, 1568.—Ined.

a swoon, until her ladies believed that she would never revive. The following day, Elizabeth was tolerably well again. A few days subsequently, she went to hear vespers at the church of Our Lady of Atocha with the infanta. She proceeded afterwards to visit the princess Doña Juana, who lay ill of fever at her convent Las Descalzas Reales. Catherine, at length, became seriously alarmed at the accounts which she received of her daughter's health, especially as the queen became too indisposed from suffering to correspond frequently with her mother. Philip wrote perpetually to ask the advice of Catherine; and sent the queen word, that sometimes her daughter's beautiful eyes were dim and tearful from suffering. Catherine, after making due enquiry, came to the extraordinary conclusion that Elizabeth ate more than was advisable; and led too sedentary a life. She, therefore, wrote thus to Philip—a letter he received when he emerged in September from his cloistered solitudes of El Escorial.

CATHERINE DE MEDICI TO PHILIP II., KING OF SPAIN.

“Monsieur mon Fils.

“Having been informed that the queen your wife is very indisposed, I write to state that I believe her indisposition proceeds from supping too heavily, and from not taking sufficient exercise; the which cannot fail to do great harm both to herself, and to her child. I entreat, therefore, that your majesty will give commands that she may not continue to act in this fashion, nor take more than two meals a day. If she cannot exist without-

eating between her dinner and her supper, I pray your majesty to order that she may take bread only, as in her youth she was never accustomed to eat meat excepting at her dinner, or her said supper. I have no doubt that this excess has done her harm ; also I fear your majesty has been too anxious to please and satisfy her, to admonish the queen that such a practice is likely to produce serious illness. For this reason I have not hesitated to trouble you with this letter, and to implore you to forbid very strictly that the queen continues to pursue such a course. Praying the Almighty to grant your majesty your desires, I remain.

“Votre bonne mère, et sœur.

“CATHERINE.

“From Paris this 16th day of September, 1568.”¹

On the 21st of September, Elizabeth received her husband at the great portal of the palace in Madrid, on his return from El Escorial. Their greeting was most joyous and affectionate. The queen's fair face, however, was pallid ; and so great was her weakness, that occasionally she was observed, while waiting for the king, to lean on the arm of her *camaréra-mayor*, the duchess of Alba. During the subsequent week, Elizabeth accompanied her husband, for change of air, to El Pardo, where the royal pair made a sojourn of a few days only.

On Friday, October 1st, the queen's illness unexpectedly increased, and she became very feverish and restless, and could not close her eyes in sleep. The

¹ MS. Archives de Simancas, 1394, A. B. 22, No. 161. Carta de la reyna Doña Catalina de Medici al Rey Don Felipe II.—Ined.

following day these symptoms disappeared ; but such was then her weakness, that she could not swallow food, and fainting fits followed in quick succession. After a suspense of a few hours, the physicians informed the king that no human skill could save his consort's life, as premature labour had commenced, which, in the queen's weakened condition, she could not survive. Philip's agony, when he heard this fact, is described as having been intense ; and he commanded prayers and processions for the queen's restoration ; and vowed splendid benefactions to the shrines and religious houses of his realm. The queen remained in perfect possession of her senses ; and throughout her protracted sufferings she displayed a constant and courageous spirit, showing most grateful appreciation of the devotion displayed by her attendants. During the evening of the 2nd, Elizabeth requested that the sacrament of Extreme Unction might be administered while she had strength left to join in the prayers of the church.¹ The sacred rites were accordingly performed ; mass being, moreover, previously celebrated in the chamber of the dying queen. Philip knelt by the pillow of his consort, and shared the consecrated wafer with her. At three o'clock in the morning of Sunday, October 3rd, Elizabeth signed her will. This was the document which she had executed at El Bosque before the birth of the Infanta, Doña Isabella. A codicil was now added, in which the queen referred her

¹ Cabrera, Felipe II., p. 503, cap. 7.

wishes therein recorded to the sole decision of the king; and commended several of her French ladies to Philip's favour and protection.¹

The most agonizing ordeal followed—the parting between the royal pair before the dying queen withdrew her thoughts from earthly things, to fix them on the solemn realities of the world then dawning upon her. Tears streamed down Elizabeth's cheeks, it is recorded, as she spoke her last words to the husband whom she loved so tenderly; and who to her, at least, had been gentle and indulgent. She expressed her grief that she had not been able to make a suitable return for the love he had lavished upon her; and especially that she had not given him a son, “whose sight, Monseigneur, might have palliated the sorrow which you will feel at my loss. As a mother,” continued she, “I feel deep grief at leaving the infantas my daughters; but being the children of so mighty and potent a king as yourself, they will never need care, especially being adorned as they are with the promise of many excellent gifts.” She then commended her ladies to the king's protection; she prayed him always to love and aid the queen her mother, and the very Christian king her brother. “I go Monseigneur,” added she, “relying on the merits of Christ my Saviour, where I may ever pray the Almighty to bless and prosper you.” Philip replied, “I confide in the Most High

¹ Dépêche de Fourquevaux à la royne.—Bibl. Imp. MSS. p. 1469 et seq. Cabrera, Felipe II., p. 503, cap. vii.

that He will still have mercy upon me, and restore you to health, so that you yourself may execute the righteous intents of your heart. But if the contrary should happen, and I am smitten for my sins with that calamity, in your stead I promise faithfully to perform and execute all that you have enjoined. I pray you to take comfort, and to tranquillize your mind; for indeed I will do, and accomplish all, to the very utmost of your desire.”¹ The physicians seeing that the agitation of the queen was becoming uncontrollable; and also, that her pains were increasing, they besought Philip to leave the apartment. The king rose hastily, and entered a small oratory adjacent. “During this most lamentable night, madame,” writes de Fourquevaulx, “the queen like a most wise and very Christian princess as she was, took everlasting farewell in this life of the king her husband, in language such as princess never before used. She committed her daughters to his majesty’s care, and commended your Christian majesties and all her ladies to his friendship; adding other words which were enough to break the heart of so good a husband as was his Catholic majesty. The said king after making a suitable response, and displaying the same constancy and resignation, withdrew from the chamber in great anguish, and despair of mind.”² In the chamber with the queen were, the duchess of

¹ Dépêche de Fourquevaulx, à la royne—Bibl. Imp. MSS., p. 1469. Cabrera, Felipe II., p. 503, cap. vii.

² De Fourquevaulx à la royne, p. 1469.

Alba, Doña Aña de Fasardo, the marquesa de Fromesta, and Doña Elvira de Carrilla, *gouvernante* of the infantas; also, Don Juan Manrique de Lara, the queen's faithful *mayor-domo-mayor*, the bishop of Cuença, cardinal Espinosa, and Elizabeth's confessor Fray Luis Consillii. "All these personages," says Cabrera,¹ "wept and bemoaned the extremity of a queen, so young, fascinating, gracious, modest, charitable, and religious." The sight of the tears shed by her attendants greatly distressed the queen, and she strove to console her ladies with many words expressive of her interest in their future welfare; and her regret that she had not been able to do more to show her gratitude for their faithful service.

Soon after the departure of the king from her chamber, Elizabeth despatched a message to Doña Juana, who was still too ill to leave her bed. She sent the princess word, "That the hand of death was upon her; that her affection towards her had always been great and sincere; and as a last mark of love, she prayed the princess to permit her body to rest in the chapel of her convent of Las Descalzas Reales until it should please the king her lord to dispose in another way of her remains."² Elizabeth's messenger was admitted to the bedside of Doña Juana, who wept bitterly on hearing the mournful tidings. The princess returned an affectionate message in reply, assuring the queen that her wish should be complied

¹ Felipe II. cap. vii.

² Ibid.

with. The queen then requested that she might be clad in the Franciscan habit, as the festival of St. François fell the day following, “as she trusted that the saint would guard her during her agony, as he had done many of her royal ancestors, and especially the king St. Louis, who had entered the Franciscan Order.” When this wish had been complied with, the cardinal Espinosa, and the bishop of Cuença advanced, and exhorted her majesty to place her trust of salvation in the blood of Jesus Christ. “I die,” said the queen feebly, “trusting in the efficacy of the Sacrament of Christ’s most holy Church, which are pledges of His word, and emblems of my future blessedness.”¹ It was then nearly six o’clock in the morning of the 3rd of October, and the French ambassadors had not been summoned, or even informed of the queen’s extremity, and that her departure was at hand. Don Juan Manrique, therefore, on perceiving that Elizabeth had fainted after receiving the solemn benediction of the prelates present, hastily repaired to the abode of the ambassador and imparted the sad intelligence. In the course of ten minutes de Fourquevaux, and the count de Lignerolles, Catherine’s special ambassador, stood at the foot of Elizabeth’s bed. The movement in the apartment and the sound of her own language, roused the queen: she gazed long and eagerly on de Fourquevaux, who represented those she loved so well, and tears rose to her eyes, as she feebly stretched out her hand towards

¹ Felipe II. Florez, *Vidas de las Reynas Catolicas*. Brantôme.

him, saying, "M. l'ambassadeur you come to see me in the act of quitting this vain world to pass to a more pleasant kingdom, where I hope to be ever with my God, in glory that will never end. Tell the queen my mother, and the king my brother, that I besought them to take my end patiently, and to console themselves with the thought that not all the joy and prosperity which has been my lot in this world, gave me as much content as the prospect of soon being with my Creator. Tell them that I will intercede on their behalf with God, that He may support and maintain them under His holy protection. Entreat them to watch over their kingdom, and to uproot heresies; and I for my part will pray God to give them power to subdue their enemies. Above all it is my prayer that they take my death resignedly, and hold me for happy, for you, M. l'ambassadeur, are witness how calmly I accept this welcome summons."¹ Fourquevaulx replied, by uttering words of comfort, saying, "that perhaps God would prolong her majesty's days to witness the peace and prosperity of France." "No, no, M. l'ambassadeur, I desire with all my heart that such prosperity may be; but not myself to witness it! I would rather depart and see that glory which in a brief space I trust to enjoy!" replied the dying queen. "I then again tried to inspire your daughter with hope of her eventual recovery, madame," wrote the ambassador, "but she

¹ *Dépêches de Fourquevaulx à la royne*, MS. Bibl. Imp., Suppl. pl. 1470.

replied, " You will soon see how near I am to my end. God has given me grace to despise this world and its pomps ; and to place my trust in Him, and in Jesus Christ. My death inspires me with no regrets." A silence of some minutes ensued. The ambassador then approached close to the pillow of the queen, and asked her whether she had any especial message to send to her mother, or to her brother the king. Elizabeth opened her eyes, and fixed them steadily on de Fourquevaux ; she replied, " No, I have nothing to impart except to supplicate them earnestly, in the name of God, to take comfort for my decease. My future home will be, I humbly trust, with the saints in glory : what more, therefore, can they who love me desire ?" Elizabeth then requested the ambassador to ask her mother to protect her French ladies ; and to love and cherish the infantas.

Between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock, Elizabeth prematurely gave birth to an infant¹ ; from that period she rapidly sank, being able to speak very little, but remaining in possession of her senses. About eleven, the king sent her a message and a fragment of the true cross to adore. The same precious relic had comforted the departing hours of the empress Isabel ; and had rested on the dying lips of the emperor Charles V. at Yuste. Elizabeth fervently kissed the sacred relic, and held it in her hand whilst life remained. " She then," says de Fourquevaux, " listened devoutly to the exhortations

¹ Dépêche de Fourquevaux. Cabrera. Florez. Herrera. Ferreras.

of her confessor, remaining in full possession of her consciousness, until a few minutes before her death." About twelve, at mid-day, the queen feebly raised a crucifix to her lips ; with clasped hands she implored the mercy of God, and the intercession of the Holy Virgin, of St François, St. Louis, and of her guardian angel. In a few minutes she again murmured the name of Jesus ; a slight restlessness came over her, "and she expired so gently, Madame, that we knew not precisely the moment of her decease. She opened once her clear and lustrous eyes, and it seemed as if she would command me something more, for her glance was fixed on me. All being over, madame, we presently quitted the palace, leaving every one in tears. The lamentations were incredible ; for there is not one person great or little who does not weep for her majesty's loss ; and affirm that she was the best, and most gracious queen that had ever reigned in Spain." ¹

After reading this full and most authentic account of the decease of the good and gentle Elizabeth de Valois, from the pen of her countrymen, eye-witnesses of her death, it is curious to contrast it with the relation volunteered by Antonio Perez. He says, "After the death of the prince Don Carlos, the king resolved upon getting rid of his consort the queen. The event which decided his majesty was the following. The marquis de Poza, at this period, made love to one of the queen's maidens, and

¹ *Dépêche à la royne mère.*—MS. Bibl. Imp. p. 1470.

possessed sufficient credit to obtain entrance into the palace at night, it was said, to visit his mistress, who lodged in the wing occupied by the queen. This intrigue being discovered, the king directed some cavaliers of his friends, to disguise themselves as beggars, and to go and pass the night in a hut which commanded the windows of the queen's apartments. These cavaliers discovered the gallant marquis as he was descending from the window; and following, identified him to be the personage whom they suspected. Unfortunately, it happened that in a tilt at the ring, holden in the presence of the court, the queen dropped her handkerchief from the royal balcony, which was picked up and presented to her majesty by the said marquis. This incident increased the king's jealous suspicion. The actions of the marquis were watched; and the next time that he descended from the window of the palace he received a death wound from a poniard; the assassin crying out as he struck the blow, *ási muère el traydor!* The event caused no noise. One morning, however, the duchess of Alba, first lady to the queen, who was an old and subtle matron, presented herself at the bedside of her royal mistress, and awaking her said, 'That the physicians were of opinion that her majesty needed a certain dose of medicine to insure a happy delivery,' at the same time, presenting a draught. The queen refused to comply with this behest, saying, 'that never in her life had she felt in better health.' The duchess insisted; but her

majesty held firm, until the king entered the apartment from an adjacent chamber, clad in his *robe-de-chambre*, and demanded the cause of the dispute. The duchess recounted the matter, and the king at first sided with his wife; but after a time, being apparently won by the arguments put forth by the former, he began to persuade the queen to swallow the draught. Her majesty resisted long; but at length the king said, 'That as her compliance concerned the welfare of the realm, it was necessary that she should obey;' and taking the glass from the hands of the duchess of Alba, he gave it to the queen, and watched her drink its contents. In the space of three or four hours afterwards, the queen was prematurely delivered of a son, born with his skull burned from the violent action of the poison, and who expired directly."¹

In the face of testimony so clear as that which we possess concerning the decease of the young queen, it seems hardly worth while to analyze the errors of this statement. The story alone, bears the impress of malice and improbability. The despatches of Fourquevaulx, which are so minute in detail that they might be termed a journal of events, prove that there was no tilt before the court in the interval of little more than two months, between the decease of Don Carlos, and that of the queen. Philip retired to San Geronimo, on the 26th of July; from whence he proceeded to the Escorial; and returned to Madrid only nine days

¹ Récit d'Antonio Perez à M. de Vair.—Bibl. Imp. Dupuy, 661-662.

before Elizabeth's fatal seizure, when the royal pair proceeded to El Pardo. The anecdote of the handkerchief dropped by the queen, bears a very suspicious resemblance to the story of Anne Boleyn, and her alleged paramour at the tournament of Greenwich, to have happened to two different princesses living in the same century. Perez, during his visit to England as an exile in the reign of queen Elizabeth, might have heard this anecdote of the court of Henry VIII., and afterwards have recorded it in his private and confidential statement "of the tragedies in Spain," to the counsellor de Vair, never supposing that the veracity of his words would hereafter be tested. Another remarkable discrepancy exists, which is, that not only was the marquis de Poza not assassinated as asserted by Perez, but he actually assisted amongst other great lords at the funeral obsequies of Elizabeth. Finally, the queen, before her decease was delivered of a princess, and not, as Perez states, of a son. Of the nature of the evidence given by Perez concerning Don Carlos, and comprehended in the same letter, a just estimate may be formed, by the peremptory refutation of his story of the queen's life and death contained in the despatches of Fourquevaux, St. Sulpice, and others,—a testimony, however, which as respects the prince's fate, exists not in such positive detail. This history, as related by Antonio Perez, nevertheless, even during the lifetime of Philip II., spread throughout Europe; so powerful is the love of the marvellous over the human mind;

and it proved the model from which subsequent historians and romance writers have copied and recopied, adding such embellishments, and variations as suited their own imaginations, and the temperament of the people for whom they wrote. As for the alleged intrigue, which Philip is said by Perez to have discovered between his wife and her step-son, there is not an atom of valid evidence which will support such a charge. That Don Carlos regarded the queen with the enthusiasm which her youth, beauty, and amiability were certain to excite in the heart of one so impulsive, there can be no doubt; also, that he expressed himself respecting Elizabeth, with imprudent fervour, unbecoming his position, and the respect he owed to his father and king, is likewise abundantly proved. Elizabeth, however, always conducted herself with singular prudence and dignity; her pity and interest for the prince were invariably suitably expressed, and according to the record of de Fourquevaulx, never offended the king, her husband. Philip's attachment to his consort was profound; he always treated her with honour and indulgence; and to the last hour of his life he never ceased to mourn her loss. Throughout his long reign, Philip, on the anniversary of Elizabeth's death, might be seen prostrate with his monks of El Escorial, joining his prayers to theirs for the repose of the soul of his chosen and most beloved wife. Elizabeth, on her side, never tired of expressing the happiness and content she experienced from her union with the

Catholic king. Throughout her career in Spain, she was watched closely by the French ambassador, whose minuteness of detail concerning her private life is most amusing; and who certainly would not have omitted to report to queen Catherine so important an event as any coldness or alienation between the royal pair, when he carefully noted almost every change in her majesty's raiment or occupations. It would, moreover, be against all experience of human nature, to suppose that Elizabeth could withdraw her affection from a husband devoted to her, who being then in the prime of life possessed a most kingly presence, and was endowed with many excellent intellectual gifts, to bestow it upon a prince of rude, uncultivated mind, deformed in person, gross in manner, and subject to paroxysms of hereditary madness. The romance of the popular story concerning Don Carlos and Elizabeth de Valois, offered too tempting a theme for poets and dramatists to render them critical in their judgment of its historical accuracy.

The body of the queen was embalmed on the afternoon of the day of her death, Sunday October 3rd, 1568. Her remains were then placed in a coffin covered with black velvet, and richly adorned with the emblems of royal rank. The chapel in the palace, meantime, was hung with black cloth embroidered in silver with funeral emblems, the lilies of Valois, and the arms and cyphers of the Catholic king. During the afternoon, the chapel was filled by personages veiled and clad in long mourning robes—who were

true mourners, and not mere actors in a state pageant; "for," says Brantôme, "never was such affliction shown before by any people. The air was filled with wailing, and with passionate demonstrations of sorrow; for the queen was regarded by all her subjects with feelings of idolatry, rather than with reverence." All the cavaliers, and ladies of the household of the deceased queen, the clergy of Madrid, the heads of the religious houses, male and female, the foreign ambassadors, the magistrates of Madrid, and the military governor, thus assembled. The chapel was lighted with innumerable tapers of white wax. Before the high altar rose a superb *catafalque*, displaying escutcheons at the four corners, emblazoning the arms and heraldic devices of Valois and Hapsburg.

At nightfall, a funeral pageant traversed the long galleries of the palace of Madrid, leading from the apartments of the deceased queen to the chapel royal. Without, was heard the boom of minute guns, and the tolling of bells. The body of the queen was borne along by four grandees of Spain, the *cortège* being preceded by Don Juan Manrique. The duchess of Alba walked after the coffin, clad in long mourning robes. Then followed a train of noble ladies and cavaliers. The portal of the chapel was thrown open; and the papal nuncio, and cardinal Espinosa approached, followed by the clergy of Madrid, to receive the corpse. As the procession passed up to the choir, the solemn notes of a Requiem broke

on the orisons of the mourners. The coffin was placed on the *catafalque*, and covered by a superb pall of gold brocade. Then commenced the office for the repose of the dead; not a sound interrupted the chants of the priests, save the stifled sobs of the women of Elizabeth's household; and the distant murmurs of the crowds congregated in every street and avenue leading to the palace. When the service concluded, the nuncio gave the benediction.

All the personages then quitted the chapel, excepting those appointed to perform a vigil by the corpse. The duchess of Alba sat in a chair at the head of the coffin, closely veiled and shrouded in black garments: at the foot of the bier stood Don Juan Manrique, bearing his wand of office. On the coffin reposed the royal crown, mantle, and sceptre, and a small *bénitier* containing holy water. Other personages of the household, knelt round the platform: soldiers of the king's body-guard, standing with arms reversed, and holding torches, likewise kept guard within the chapel, which remained illuminated by a multitude of tapers.¹

In the dead of the night, Philip entered the chapel, attended by Don Juan of Austria, Ruy Gómez, and Don Hernando de Toledo. He advanced slowly and sadly to the bier; then he knelt down at the head of the coffin, and remained absorbed in prayer for many

¹ Dépêches de Fourquevaulx, à la royne mère, MS. Bibl. Imp. Cabrera. Juan Lopez, Relacion de la Enfermedad de la reyna Doña Isabel—Catedrático del Estudio de Madrid. Florez, Vidas de las Reynas Catolicas—Vida de Doña Isabel de Valois.

minutes—the three cavaliers standing motionless behind his majesty, and not one of the mournful group of watchers betraying knowledge of the king's presence. Philip at length rose, and taking the *aspergum* he sprinkled the coffin with holy water, and then silently withdrew from the chapel. With Elizabeth de Valois, the happy and brilliant portion of Philip's life expired ; that bright decade over, the king never more found combined in the same degree both domestic happiness and political prosperity. On leaving the chapel, Philip quitted the palace, attended by the cavaliers before-mentioned, and withdrew to the monastery of San Geronimo, in such deep affliction and depression of mind, that no person ventured to address him.¹

The following morning October 4th by mid-day, all that Spain possessed most illustrious in rank and learning assembled in the palace chapel, to escort the funeral cortège of the queen to the Carmelite convent of Las Decalzas Reales, where her body was to be deposited pending its transfer to El Escorial. The coffin was raised, and borne along the streets by the four nobles who had transported it from the chamber of death to the palace chapel. The corners of the pall were supported by the dukes of Arcos, de Naxara, de Medina de Rioseco and de Osuna. At the side of the coffin marched the marquises de Aguilar and de

¹ Dépêches de Fourquevaux. Récit pour servir de mémoire à M. de Lignerolles. MS., Bibl. Imp. Suppl. Fr. 225.—Ined. Cabrera, Felipe II. p. 503 et seq. cap. vii. Florez.

Poza, the condés de Alba, de Liste and de Chinchon. The streets were hung with black draperies and flags, and the spectators who thronged on the route of the procession, shed abundant tears, bemoaning the fate of their youthful sovereign. At the portal of the church of the Carmelite nuns stood the papal nuncio, Castaneo, Espinosa, and Frexnada bishop of Cuença, who had been selected to perform the funeral rites, and the archbishop of Santiago, high almoner of Spain. Behind this group of prelates and their suffragans, stood the abbess Doña Inez Borgia, and the nuns of Las Decalzas. At the conclusion of mass, the body was deposited in a niche excavated close to the high altar. Then had to be performed the important ceremony at the interment of Spanish sovereigns—the identification of the royal corpse by personages nominated by the king. The bishop of Cuença having first blessed the sepulchre, the lid of the coffin was raised by the *camaréra-mayor* the duchess of Alba, and by Don Juan Manrique, grand-master of the deceased queen's household. Round the tomb as witnesses, stood the following illustrious personages: the nuncio Castaneo, the cardinal de Espinosa, the French ambassador de Fourquevaulx, the Portuguese ambassador Don Francisco Pereira, the dukes de Osuna, Arcos, and Medina, the marquis de Aguilar, the condés de Alba, de Chinchon, Don Enriquez de Ribera, Don Antonio de la Cueva, Don Luis Quexada Senor de Villagarcia president of the Indian board, and the archdukes Rodolph and Matthias.

When the mortuary cloth was removed, the corpses of the queen and her infant appeared; the features of Elizabeth remaining beautiful and serene in death, so that to the spectator she seemed to be peacefully slumbering. The duchess of Alba then poured into the coffin finely powdered balsam and perfumes prepared for the occasion: she also scattered bunches of thyme and fragrant flowers. The coffin was then closed, and sealed with the royal signet. A *procès-verbal* of the proceedings was next drawn up on the spot by the under-secretary of state, Martin de Gatzulu which was signed by all the noble personages, witnesses expressly appointed by king Philip. The confessor of the convent, Fray Francisco de Villafraña vicar-general of Madrid and his colleague, Fray Diego de Bibar, then presented themselves, and received from the bishop of Cuença, solemn charge of the royal remains, until it should please the king to relieve them of the precious trust.¹ The tomb was afterwards closed in the presence of the illustrious assemblage; and the ceremonial of the obsequies terminated for that day.

For nine subsequent days the office for the dead was chanted in all the churches of Madrid. Morning and evening, the court attended the service performed in the chapel of Las Descalzas, at which Doña Juana was always present. Philip heard the services twice

¹ Récit pour servir de mémoire à M. de Lignerolles, MS. Suppl. Fr., 225. Cabrera, p. 503 et seq., cap. vii. Juan Lopez, Relacion de la Enfermedad de la reyna Doña Isabel. Florez, Vidas de las Reynas Catolicas.

daily in the chapel of the Geronimite monastery. The king spent the whole of these nine days in solitude, speaking to no person, and seldom quitting his tribune over the high altar in the chapel, where he remained in prayer and meditation.¹ All state business was suspended, as Philip declined to admit his ministers, or to sign any ordinance. Whatever communication it was requisite that the royal mourner should hold with the world without, was made by the prince of Eboli on his own responsibility, acting for his master. A general mourning for the deceased queen, Doña Isabel de Valois was ordered by proclamation throughout the realm of Spain. All persons of whatever degree were forbidden to wear coloured raiment under pain of a fine of twenty-five crowns for the rich, upon each offence; and imprisonment, during a certain number of days for poor delinquents.² This edict, a tribute as it was thought to the memory of the gentle Elizabeth, was rigidly enforced. A few weeks subsequently another sumptuary law concerning the mourning for the queen was issued, in which silk was prohibited for vestments, which might only be made of black cloth and serge. On the 18th of October, a solemn mass was said in the church of Our Lady of Atocha, for the repose of the soul of the deceased queen, in the presence of king Philip. The ceremony was of the most imposing and magnificent description, performed by torch-light. The bishop of

¹ Récit pour servir de mémoire à M. de Lignerolles.

² Ibid.

Cuença afterwards pronounced the queen's funeral oration ; an eloquent discourse, meeting with rapturous applause from all, and notable recompense from the king.¹ A similar oration was made at Toledo, Santiago, Segovia, and throughout the cathedrals of Spain.

In France, meanwhile, abundant honour was lavished on the memory of Elizabeth. Her death was mourned with sincere grief by the nation at large. "Alas!" exclaims Brantôme, "that this gracious princess, should have deceased in the fair and beautiful April of her age. Alas! that this resplendent sun should have been so prematurely obscured, instead of longer illuminating the world with bright and gladsome rays!" The intelligence of the decease of Elizabeth, was brought to France by the courier despatched by de Fourquevaulx, on the evening of the 3rd of October. The ambassador addressed a letter to the cardinals de Bourbon and de Lorraine, enclosing others for Charles and Catherine, which he prayed the prelates to present, after cautiously breaking the disastrous news to the queen-mother. The packet also, contained another despatch written by Philip to Don Francisco de Alava. As soon as these missives reached the French prelates, they proceeded to the residence of the Spanish ambassador, and imparted the news of the decease of the queen of Spain; they, moreover prayed Don Francisco to

¹ Récit pour servir de mémoire à M de Lignerolles—MS. Bibl. Imp., Suppl. Fr. 228.—Ined.

break the matter to their Christian Majesties, whose grief, the cardinals declared, that they dared not contemplate. With many expressions of good will, Don Francisco declined the mission, saying "that he could not undertake an office, which would probably ever after render his presence odious to their majesties."¹ The two cardinals, therefore, were compelled to seek audience at the Louvre, and impart the calamity; and at the same time present the despatch sent by de Fourquevaulx. Catherine's grief and horror were excessive; for the catastrophe besides being harrowing to her maternal feelings, was destructive of her policy as regarded the cabinet of Philip II. The despatch was received at Paris about the 19th day of October. Catherine and her son hastened to reply to their ambassador in Spain. After many lamentations on the premature decease of Elizabeth—a calamity which both Charles and his mother avow their intention of receiving in all patience, submitting to the will of the Almighty—the queen proceeds to discuss the grave political events likely to result from Philip's bereavement.² She especially commands the ambassador, "to give himself all trouble to learn, and to report the rumours and observations, consequent on the unhappy event which has befallen us"—meaning as the context clearly shows, the political changes about to ensue in

¹ Carta de Don Francisco de Alava à Don Felipe II.. Simancas, K. 1394, No. 231.—Ined.

² Lettre de la royne mère à M. de Fourquevaulx. MS., Suppl. Fr. 225. De Paris le 28 d'Octobre, 1568.

Spain ; and not, as this passage has been construed that de Fourquevaulx should be on the alert to collect evidence of Philip's connivance in the death of his wife—a suspicion which never seems to have been entertained by the queen—at least, not a trace of evidence of such having been her belief remains on record. The rumours about which the queen was so anxious, concerned the archduchess Anne, whose hand Catherine wished to obtain for Charles IX ; but whose alliance, the queen with her usual sagacity, perceived would eventually be demanded by the king of Spain. Before Elizabeth had lain three weeks in her grave, the French ambassador was holding confidential discourses with Eboli, Cayès, the duchess of Alba; and the nuncio Castaneo, to extract some indication of their opinion on Philip's future matrimonial proceedings to satisfy his royal mistress. All these personages assured de Fourquevaulx, that in their opinion the king would eventually ask the archduchess in marriage for himself, and assign her sister to Charles IX ; while his majesty would negotiate an alliance for Marguerite de Valois with his nephew the young king of Portugal. As for Philip himself, he preserved utter silence on these matters ; and probably despised his step-mother for the paltry ardour with which she set her emissaries to work to discover his future projects, regardless of that great woe, which seems alone to have been truly mourned by the husband, whom popular tradition has so long unjustly stigmatized as the assassin of his wife.

On the 25th day of October, 1568, a service was performed in Nôtre Dame de Paris, for the repose of the soul of the queen of Spain. Charles IX attended the mass, clad in mourning robes of violet velvet, the train of his mantle being borne by the marshal de Montmorency. The service was performed by the archbishop of Sens; and the funeral sermon was preached by Simon Vigors, archbishop of Narbonne elect. The parliament of Paris, the university, the courtiers, and the clergy of France, assembled to celebrate the funeral rites of a princess, whose public and private career had been without stain or reproach.¹ A faithful wife, a devoted mother, and an affectionate daughter, many noble virtues and qualities had been conspicuous during the brief span of life allotted to Elizabeth de Valois; and for long the Spaniards reverently cherished the memory of the fair young queen whom they had named Isabel de la Paz y de la Bondad. On the 10th day of November, Philip received M. de Lignerolles, the ambassador originally sent by Catherine to condole with the king on the decease of his son; but who had arrived in time to witness the demise of the queen. De Lignerolles pronounced an elaborate harangue, descriptive of the grief felt by their Christian majesties for the domestic calamities which had befallen him. He also skilfully introduced the vexed question of the alliance with Austria; and without regard for the inferences likely to be deduced by the royal mourner, hinted that king

¹ Journal de Brulart.—Année 1568.

Charles expected his Catholic majesty to perform all good offices in procuring for him the hand of the eldest archduchess. Philip replied with his usual self-possession ; but instead of pledging his cabinet to any line of action, he contented himself with praising the aptitude of the ambassador's language, and the fluency of his speech.¹ De Lignerolles finally presented to the king, a letter addressed by queen Catherine to his deceased consort ; but which her majesty's illness had prevented him from delivering. The king took the letter, showing visible emotion. Afterwards Philip caused a copy of it to be taken in Spanish, and deposited in the archives of his realm, where it is still to be perused.² The original letter he returned to the queen-mother, through her ambassador.

It was, however, to the cardinal de Guise, who visited Madrid during the following month of December that Philip expressed the grief which preyed upon his mind for the loss of his consort. In reply to the eloquent and feeling oration addressed to him by the prelate, Philip remarked, "That his loss was indeed irreparable. His best and only consolation was his knowledge of the virtuous and exemplary life of his departed consort : which he trusted had assured her eternal felicity. All her

¹ Récit pour servir de mémoire à M. de Lignerolles. MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. Fr. 225.—Ined.

² This letter bears the endorsement, "L'original a été envoyé par le Roy après l'avoir lu, à cause de la mort de la Royne sa femme le 3 Octobre, veille de St. François." Simancas.—K. 1394, A. 22. p. 13.—Ined.

ladies and attendants knew how sincerely he had loved and honoured her, and his bitter grief at his bereavement. So greatly did I honour her," added the king, "that, could I possibly choose another wife, it would be the very height of my contentment to find another, like her who has departed from me to reign over a higher and more glorious kingdom."¹

In her last will and testament, Elizabeth left all that she possessed to the king her husband; mentioning specially only the name of a favourite attendant and tirewoman, mademoiselle de Chassin-court. The latter immediately received a pension from the bounty of king Philip; and was nominated to an important post in the nursery of the infantas, daughters of the deceased queen. The ring of betrothal, which his ambassador and proxy the duke of Alba, had placed on the finger of the young Elizabeth de Valois in Paris, in 1559, the king preserved in a casket amongst his most precious relics. On his death-bed, he took this ring, which was set with a costly diamond, and gave it to his beloved daughter the infanta Isabel, the child of Elizabeth, charging her never to part with it, but to wear it in memory of her mother and himself.

Elizabeth de Valois died at the age of twenty-four years. After the birth of her daughter, the Infanta Isabel in 1566, she founded the convent of Beatas Maria, of the order of St. François, in the city of

¹ Lettre du cardinal de Guise à la royne mère.

Toledo.¹ She richly endowed the nuns; and presented sumptuous plate, and decorations wrought with her own hands for the altar and chapel of the convent. Her benefactions, also, were numerous to other religious communities. She gave liberal donations from her privy purse, towards the completion of the magnificent edifices of St. Lorenzo el Real del Escorial, and Las Carmelitas Descalzas of Madrid.

The device assumed by Elizabeth was a sun and moon, encircled by stars, and surmounted by a crown royal, with the legend "*Jam feliciter omnia.*"²

¹ Florez, *Vidas de las Reynas Catolicas*.—*Vida de Isabel de Valois*.

² Florez, *Vidas de las Reynas Catolicas*.

CHAPTER VII.

El Escorial—Warrant for the transfer thither of the bodies of Elizabeth and Don Carlos—Their solemn interment—Funeral Orations—Third removal of the royal remains to the church of San Lorenzo—Solemnities consequent—The Panthéon—Monumental bronze effigy of Elizabeth de Valois.

FOUR years had passed away since the solemn celebration of the funeral obsequies of Elizabeth de Valois, in the city of Madrid.

An Austrian princess, the archduchess Anne, shared the throne of Spain. Fair sons had been born to Philip and snatched away again by the hand of death. Ruy Gomez, no longer the gay and brilliant cavalier, was gradually sinking under the ravages of the malady which, at no distant period, laid him in the tomb. The duke of Alba, also, though still powerful and revered, might, at this time, have descried the rising of the cloud which, for a season, obscured his greatness, in the profligate morals of his eldest son Don Fadrique de Toledo, and the disastrous loves

intrigue of the latter with Doña Maddalena de Guzman, a beautiful maiden in the service of the queen.¹ King Philip continued stern and reserved in disposition, intent upon politics, and cherishing with singular fondness "the light of his eyes," the little infanta Doña Isabel. The chosen wife of his youth, Elizabeth de Valois, the king never forgot. Amidst many imputations, the turpitude of which it is impossible to deny, this gentler trait in the character of Philip II. cannot in justice be too strongly dwelt upon.

From the date of the decease of the queen, Philip's edifice of St. Lorenzo el Real del Escorial acquired a new and potent interest in his eyes, as this magnificent pile was destined first to enshrine her remains. In 1573 the buildings of the monastery were finished with the chapel, library, and refectory. The principal *façade* was 300 feet long, and the height of the edifice rose to 70 feet. Marbles, jasper, gilding, and rich frescoes adorned the interior of the edifice, which eventually cost Philip the sum of 60 millions of ducats to complete. The community was already numerous; for the most noble and wealthy personages sought admission in the ranks of

¹ This affair caused the exile of the duke of Alba from court for many years, the banishment from the realm, and afterwards the imprisonment of Don Fadrique. Doña Maddalena, also, was confined for life in a nunnery at Toledo: the cause of all being, that after seducing Doña Maddalena under promise of marriage, Don Fadrique, by his father's advice, in defiance of the royal prohibition, secretly espoused Doña Maria de Toledo, his cousin.

a brotherhood so favoured by royal patronage. The great Geronimite fraternities of Guadaloupé and of San Bartolomé de Lupiana, with the 35 inferior communities their offshoots, beheld their glory and pre-eminence eclipsed by the mighty pile rising beneath the bleak Guadarrama *sierra* ; yet so wealthy were these establishments, that the French ambassador states, “ that it was calculated the value of the books alone used in their choirs amounted to the sum of 300,000 crowns. The great church and the royal palace in the Escorial were at this period in process of construction ; nor was this portion of the edifice completed for many subsequent years. Already, however, the chapels of the monastery were rich in relics ; from all quarters of the world, and from every church throughout his realm, Philip collected offerings. Even during his seclusion in the Geronimite monastery at Madrid, after the decease of Elizabeth, Philip thought of his favourite “ buildings.” A letter is extant written by the king, during his retirement, and addressed to Fray Juan Regla, Prior of Santa Engracia of Zaragoza, commanding that the relics of Justo and Pastor, the martyrs of Alcalá, and the holy bodies of San Orencio, and Santa Paciencia, the parents of the blessed martyr San Lorenzo, should be transported without delay to El Escorial, under the conduct of the prior and a detachment of his monks.¹ Foreign potentates hastened to enrich Philip’s treasury of relics. When a case

¹ Documentos Ineditos, t. i.

containing such treasures arrived, great was the jubilee at El Escorial. The monks, headed by their prior, unpacked, and passed the mouldering bones, with the greatest reverence the one to the other; the choir chanting hymns of praise in honour of the martyr or saint thus consigned to their pious adoration.

A spacious vault, meantime, had been prepared under the high altar of the convent chapel by command of the king for the reception of the bodies of Elizabeth and Don Carlos. Letters missive were written by the king, and dated from El Pardo, during the month of June, 1573, addressed to the abbess and confessor of the convent of royal Carmelites of Madrid, commanding that the body of the queen should be delivered to certain personages therein named, to be transported to El Escorial. The same letter was sent to the abbess of San Domingo el Real, where the remains of Don Carlos had been deposited. The warrant for the reception and interment of the royal bodies, addressed to Fray Hernandez de Ciudad Real, prior of Escorial, is as follows :

.

“Venerable and Holy Fathers, the Prior and monks of the monastery of San Lorenzo el Real: This is to admonish you that, according to our command and direction, the bodies of the most serene Queen Doña Isabel my very dear and beloved wife, and that of the most serene prince Don Carlos, my son (who are now in beatitude), were deposited in the convent of our Lady of Consolation de las Decalzas, and in that of Santo Domingo

el Real, of the town of Madrid, pending our royal pleasure. We, therefore, think it expedient to inform you, that we have commanded that the said corpses be delivered, (as has been done) to the reverend Fathers in God, the bishop of Salamanca, and the bishop of Zamora elect of Sigüenza, privy counsellors; and to the dukes of Arcos and Escalona to transport to your monastery. We, therefore, charge and command you to receive these; and to cause them to be interred in the chapel of your said monastery within the vault under the High Altar, there to remain in deposit, causing all necessary writings and registers to be made, until they be transferred to the principal church, as we shall hereafter ordain. Such is our will. Given at El Pardo this 6th day of June, 1573.”¹

A more ample refutation of the assertions now current, respecting Elizabeth and Don Carlos, than this warrant, and the subsequent transactions dependent on it, seems scarcely possible. It cannot be believed that if Philip credited the accusation; or if, indeed, a whisper of such a rumour had reached his ears, that he would have directed the public parade of the corpses of his consort and her alleged paramour, side by side through the streets of Madrid; or have permitted that the same funeral pageant, should commit them both to a common grave.

On the 7th day of June, 1573, the funeral cars bearing the bodies of the queen and the prince, tra-

¹ Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos sobre la Historia de Espana, p. 83, ano de 1573.

versed the streets of Madrid. The *cortège* was composed of the prelates and nobles, nominated in the king's warrant to superintend the removal of the bodies; and of all the principal cavaliers of the court, dressed in long mourning cloaks. The king's body-guard, Los Monteros de Espinosa escorted the cavalcade. Deputations of six monks from each of the monasteries of Madrid followed, chanting dirges. Then came the dean of the chapel royal, and the chapter and choristers. The captain of the royal horse-guards, Don Rodrigo Manuel, followed, riding at the head of his band. The lances of the soldiers were covered with black streamers, and their banners were lowered and trailing on the ground. The procession reached San Lorenzo about three in the afternoon, and entered the precincts of the edifice by the gate named that of Blasco Sancho. Within the court, a platform of state had been raised, to deposit the coffins. The cavaliers dismounted; and the two bishops, assisted by the dukes of Arcos and Escalona, lifted the biers from the cars. Whilst this was done, the bells of the monastery tolled; and in the distance, the measured tread of the brotherhood was heard as the monks traversed the long cloister, which divided their monastery from this outer court. Led by their Prior, the community advanced, carrying censers and torches, and chanting anthems and versicles, "so that the hearers were melted into tears, what with the harmonious voices of the fathers, and

the melancholy clamour of bells.” The antiphone, as the monks approached, was taken up in response by the choristers of the chapel royal. The prior, wearing his cope, advanced to the platform, and removing the pall of costly brocade which covered the coffins, he sprinkled holy water upon them, and offered incense. The bodies were then once more raised, and transported on the shoulders of the cavaliers named for the purpose, to the chapel, preceded by the brotherhood and choirs chanting. A gorgeous dais and canopy had been prepared before the altar covered with black velvet. Upon this the coffins were placed, and the office for the dead chanted. The ceremony then terminated for that day; the Monteros de Espinosa keeping guard during the night within the chapel, which was illuminated by wax tapers.

The following morning, June 8th, a solemn Requiem mass was performed—the bishop of Salamanca, Pero Gonzales de Mendoza officiating, aided by two fathers of the monastery of illustrious birth. Upon the altar were displayed numerous relics in shrines, sparkling with jewels and gold. The funeral oration was pronounced by Fray Francisco de Villalva, preacher to the king; an ecclesiastic who had likewise filled that office in the household of Charles V. at Yuste. His discourse, like his celebrated harangue from the pulpit on the decease of his Imperial master, moved his auditory to tears, when he descanted on the virtues, and the premature decease of the young Elizabeth de Valois. The bishop of Salamanca at the con-

clusion of the oration advanced to the platform of state, and after first incensing the coffin of the queen, said various prayers; to all of which the choir of monks made devout response. The coffin was then lowered into the vault prepared beneath the high altar. It was covered with black velvet, having on the lid a crimson cross. Upon the bier the monks of El Escorial placed the following inscription, written on vellum.

“In this coffin reposes the body of Dona Isabel, third wife of the king Don Felipe II., our sovereign lord. She was the daughter of Henry II., and of Catherine de Medici, monarchs of France, and died in the royal palace of Madrid on the third day of October, on the eve of the ever-blessed St. Francisco, in the year of our Lord 1568. Her body was deposited in the Nunnery of Las Descalzas of Madrid, and from thence it was translated to this monastery of St. Lorenzo El Real, June 7th, 1573.”

The same evening the monks assembled in the chapel to intone the office of the dead for Don Carlos, which was done at vesper hour. The Requiem was chanted on the following day, June 9th, the bishop of Zamora Juan Manuel, officiating at the altar. The same ceremonies were then observed as on the previous day; and the body of Don Carlos was lowered into the vault, and placed beside that of the queen—a space, however, being left between, for the coffin containing the ashes of the Princess Doña Maria, his mother. A coffer of lead was deposited

on the coffin of the prince, containing the following document, written on parchment.

“In this coffin reposes the body of the most Serene Prince Don Carlos, first-born son of the very Catholic king Don Felipe II. our sovereign, and founder of this monastery of San Lorenzo El Real, by Doña Maria, his first wife. He died in the town of Madrid, in the royal palace, on the vigil of the apostle St. James, July 24th, 1568, in the twenty-third year of his age, having been born July 9th, 1545, in Valladolid. His body was deposited in the Nunnery of Santo Domingo El Real of the said town of Madrid, and was from thence translated to this monastery of St. Lorenzo by command of the Catholic king Don Felipe our lord, his father, on the sixth day of June, 1573, in the tenth year after the foundation of this monastery of San Lorenzo El Real.”¹

During the spring of the following year, 1574, the royal vault was opened for the reception of the remains of Charles V., which were brought from his temporary resting-place, the church of Yuste. The bodies of the empress Isabel, and of Doña Maria, the first wife of Philip II., were likewise transported from the beautiful mausoleum of Ferdinand and Isabella, in Granada. The remains of Eleanor queen of France, and Mary queen of Hungary sisters of the emperor were brought and also deposited in the vault of the Escorial.²

¹ Documentos Ineditos sobre la Historia de Espana, p. 83. &c.

² Ibid. Francisco de los Santos—Descripcion del Escorial.

The royal bodies thus reposed beneath the splendid fane erected by the piety of Philip II, until the year 1586, when the magnificent church of St. Lorenzo was completed. Beneath the high altar, another and larger sepulchre had been excavated under the superintendence of Philip himself. A third time was the Requiem celebrated for the royal dead. With great pomp and parade the coffins were raised and transferred to the sumptuous marble vault prepared.¹ The services were celebrated with incredible magnificence, the chief prelates of the realm officiating; while Philip himself from his tribune over the altar, concealed from the view of all, viewed the solemn pageant.

For seventy years, the sanctity of this tomb remained inviolate. The bones of Philip II, in due time, occupied the niche reserved for him; and his son and successor Philip III, with his consort Marguerite of Austria, rested with their kindred dust. Meanwhile, Philip III had commenced the famous tomb-house called the Pantheon, the construction of which occupied thirty-three years of his reign. His son and successor

¹ The bodies were ranged in the following order: 1. Archduke Wenceslaus; 2. Mary, queen of Hungary; 3. Eleanor, queen of France; 4. empress, Doña Maria of Austria, sister of Philip II.; 5. empress Doña Isabel; 6. emperor Charles V.; 7. place left for Philip II.; 8. queen Anne of Austria, fourth wife of Philip II.; 9. Doña Isabella de Valois, third wife of Philip II.; 10. Princess Doña Maria, first wife of Philip II.; 11. Prince Don Carlos; 12. Don John of Austria; 13, 14. Infants Don Juan and Don Hernando, children of Charles V.; 15. Infant Don Hernando; 16. Infant Don Fernando; 17. Infant Don Diego; 18. Infanta Dona Maria—all children of Philip II. by his fourth wife Anne, daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. Documentos Ineditos, t. i.

Philip IV, completed the work, and by the 16th day of March 1654, this third gorgeous chamber was prepared for its silent occupants. The tomb was constructed of jasper and marble ; round the chamber were twenty-five sarcophagi of black marble, for the reception of the bones of the kings of Spain, and their consorts who had continued the royal line. Another sepulchral chamber of magnificent proportions but less superbly adorned, was prepared for the princes of the royal family, and those sovereigns who died without leaving posterity. The ceremony of the fourth and final removal of the royal remains took place on the 16th of March, 1654. The religious service was conducted with the same pomp as heretofore ; the oration being delivered by Fray Juan de Avellanada, who took his text from the Prophet Ezekial. "Oh ye dry bones hear the word of the Lord!"¹ Afterwards the bodies were borne round the church, the procession being headed by the remains of Elizabeth de Bourbon, daughter of Henry the Great, and the first consort of Philip IV. The portal of the tomb-house was then thrown open ; and the procession of robed ecclesiastics defiled down the broad marble steps, leading to the funeral chamber. Amid the solemn chant of priests, seven of the coffins were then opened, and the remains of Charles V. and his empress, Philip II. and his fourth wife Anne of Austria, Philip III. and Marguerite of Austria,

¹ Descripcion del Escorial por el Padre Francisco de los Santos. fol.

and Elizabeth de Bourbon, were transferred to the marble urns.

The coffin of Elizabeth de Valois was placed in a niche, in the second chamber of the Pantheon, as she left no male offspring. The remains of Don Carlos were likewise translated to the same sepulchre.

The monumental effigy of Elizabeth de Valois, in bronze, robed in an emblazoned mantle, and kneeling, is still to be seen in the church of El Escorial in front of the high altar. Together under the same jasper shrine, kneel the effigies of Charles V., the empress Isabel, Philip II. and three of his consorts, Maria, Elizabeth and Anne, and his son Don Carlos. The statues are the work of Leoni, the sculptor.

Until the comparatively recent dispersion of the famed Jeronomite community of San Lorenzo el Real del Escorial, a vigil was holden on the eve of the second of October, the day preceding the anniversary of the decease of Elizabeth de Valois to pray for the repose of the soul of the beloved wife of their royal founder, Philip II.¹

¹ Documentos Ineditos, p. 83.

THE END.

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